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The Shape of Things

IN HIS RADIO SPEECH TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE Sir Stafford Cripps said, "Our object is to give the Indian people full self-government, with complete freedom as to how they will devise and organize their own constitution." The program which he has presented, with the unanimous approval of the British Cabinet, may be criticized in detail, but in general it seems to us to measure up to Sir Stafford's claims. It gives the Indians immediately a greatly increased share in their own government and guarantees dominion status after the war, with the right to break away completely from the empire. It approaches the minorities problem in realistic fashion, assuring each province the right to contract out of the federal system if the constitution to be drawn up by a constitutional assembly fails to satisfy them. There is some obscurity in the treatment proposed for the hundreds of princely states, large and small, in treaty relations with the British crown. Apparently they are to be given representation in the constitutional assembly, but it is not clear whether their representatives are to be elected by the people or are to be nominees of their rulers. Despite its merits, and despite general recognition of the fact that Cripps's recommendation of acceptance is the advice of a genuine friend, it is by no means certain that the program is going to be indorsed by all Indian parties. Once again it may be a case of "too little, too late." Had the British government made an offer like this in 1939 or even a year ago, it would have seemed more generous than it does now, with Japan's armies pushing through Burma.

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REPORTS FROM INDIA AS WE GO TO PRESS state that both Gandhi and Nehru are opposed to acceptance of the Cripps plan as it now stands. Gandhi's opposition appears to be based on his pacifism. The plan would commit India to joining fully in the fight against the Axis powers, and the Mahatma believes that India should offer only passive resistance to any invader. Nehru, on the other hand, is willing to fight, but he wants the battle to be directed by the Indians themselves and objects to the provision that Britain shall be responsible for India's defense during the war. In his radio address

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Cripps pointed out that the defense of India can only be undertaken as part of the whole war effort and that supreme command must be left in the hands of the commander-in-chief responsible to the British War Cabinet. At the same time an effective share in the control of the war is offered to India through representation on both the War Cabinet and the new Pacific Council of the United Nations. Cripps's proposals for settling the minority problem have aroused the hostility of the extreme Hindu section. It looks upon the contracting-out proposal, designed to provide against coercion of minorities, as the equivalent of a plan for the partition of India. Actually Hindu spokesmen have always claimed that Ali Jinnah, the Moslem separatist leader, represents only the minority of a minority, and if they are right, the predominantly Moslem provinces would almost certainly agree to join the union unless meanwhile the Hindus alarmed them by attempting to concentrate all power in their own hands. We agree that it will be extremely unfortunate if the unity of India is impaired, but any attempt to force minority provinces to adhere to the union against their will would result in an even less auspicious start for Indian independence.

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THE SOVIET WINTER OFFENSIVE APPEARS TO have been definitely stalled by heavy Nazi reinforcements. Reports during the past week have told only of minor Russian gains and of the checking of German counter-thrusts. In the Kalinin sector the Nazis essayed an offensive action of their own, but were thrown back with heavy losses after a five-day battle. There is evidence that fresh Nazi troops have been brought up along the entire battle line. Whether these are intended merely to stop the Soviet advance or are initial units for the long-heralded German spring offensive remains unclear. While mud and slush preclude the possibility of extensive military operations on the northern and central sectors during the early part of April, the weather may soon be favorable in the Ukraine, Caucasus, and Crimea. Russia is undoubtedly prepared to meet a thrust in these areas, but its ability to beat back an all-out Nazi offensive must depend to a great extent on the aid it receives from Britain and the United States in the next few weeks. In this respect Britain seems to be doing far better than we are. The R. A. F. raid on Lübeck is reported to have done heavy damage to the harbor which is the chief outlet for shipments to the Russian front. The Commando raid on St. Nazaire served notice on the Nazis that the British are perfectly capable at least of small-scale offensive action on the Continent. The United States, however, has fallen seriously behind in lend-lease shipments to Russia just at the time when those shipments are most needed. Minor army and navy officials are reported to have diverted material intended for front-line use in Russia to use within the United States. It is obvious that the hope for winning the war in 1942—perhaps of winning it at all—rests to a considerable extent on the aid which we succeed in getting to Russia during these next few weeks. President Roosevelt as Commander-in-Chief has ordered these shipments speeded up, but success depends on the loyal cooperation of all officials responsible for deliveries.

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THE NAZIS ARE APPLYING TO TURKEY THE sorts of pressure that give sure warning of trouble ahead. Von Papen is in Berlin presumably to tell the German Foreign Office just how much it can hope to get out of Turkey without war. Hitler, meanwhile, has been closeted with King Boris of Bulgaria, and in an address to the Bulgarian Parliament Premier Filov has said that the "destruction of bolshevism" is the prime requisite for the establishment of the New Order in Europe and that Bulgaria must give "the fullest possible measure" of support to its allies, the Axis powers. This sounds as if Bulgaria were at last prepared to send troops to the Russian front, but in view of the strong pro-Soviet sentiment among the people it is equally possible that the whole maneuver is part of the Axis threat against Turkey. New contingents of German troops are said to be arriving daily in Bulgaria, and fortifications are being rushed to completion along the Turkish frontier. An invasion of Turkey would find considerable support in Bulgaria, and if successful it would bring great advantages to Germany, opening a route by which to attack Russia from the rear and gain access to the oil fields of Iraq, Iran, and southern Russia, and making possible a flanking attack on the Suez Canal and Egypt. But it would also mean taking on another redoubtable foe at a time when Nazi resources are severely strained. So it is probable that for the present Hitler will try to gain certain strategic ends—as, for example, Turkish acquiescence in a German attack on Syria—by threat and pressure rather than war.

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THE STATE DEPARTMENT SET A NEW HIGH in credulity when it accepted Vichy's bland assurance that henceforth France would keep its collaboration with the Axis in the Mediterranean and Atlantic war zones strictly within the limits determined by its armistice obligations. In addition to earlier pledges not to surrender its fleet or bases, Pétain's government has undertaken not to send more gasoline, trucks, or food direct to Libya and to give prior notice of fleet movements, such as the recent removal of the battleship Dunkerque from Oran to Toulon. Such pledges are in themselves admissions that Vichy has been aiding the Axis in ways which exceeded its armistice commitments. Explaining shipments of gasoline from military stores in North

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Africa to the Italians in Libya, Vichy maintains that it is obligated to supply its former enemies with this most valuable of all war materials. Delivery at Tripoli, however, was an extra service thrown in to relieve Italy of the difficulties and dangers of carrying the gasoline across the Mediterranean in its own ships. Quite probably these French supplies were an important factor in enabling General Rommel to reorganize his forces and counter-attack, but the State Department is willing to let bygones be bygones now that Vichy has promised not to do it again. Another point arises. Every time Vichy is caught aiding the Axis we are told about some hitherto unpublished armistice obligation. We have suggested before that the State Department insist on receiving a full list of such commitments, together with Vichy's definitive interpretation of their meaning. Until this elementary precaution is taken, any resumption of shipments of American supplies to North Africa—proved to be an important source of food and raw materials for Germany and Italy—would be not merely folly but sabotage.

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THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE new Pacific War Council to sit in Washington is a triumph for Australia and New Zealand, whose representatives have been insisting for weeks that the center of gravity in the Pacific war has shifted to the United States and that direction and decisions on strategy should be centered here, too. The new council will not replace the existing Pacific Council which meets in London but will collaborate closely with it; just how the two boards will divide their functions is yet to be announced. It is high time that the cumbersome arrangements which have prevailed until now, involving endless discussions between Washington and London with resulting misunderstandings and delays, be superseded by a simpler, more centralized control. Neither Australia nor New Zealand has been satisfied with the aid given them so far. They are particularly disturbed by the inadequate number of first-class fighter planes dispatched "down under." Australia manufactures planes but in quantities far too small for present defense needs. The dominions point out that they did not hesitate to send powerful forces to aid the British in the Middle East and at Singapore, and ask that they be given comparable assistance in their own hour of peril. Britain has already permitted some Australian soldiers, including General Blamey, to return home, but the shortage of ships will prevent any large number from being repatriated. For reasons of geography the dominions know that they must look to Washington rather than London for immediate large-scale aid. The new council should give the dominions the help and reassurance they demand and at the same time provide the concentrated direction required for effective military action.

BY THREATENING TO SUPPRESS THE *DAILY Mirror* Herbert Morrison, British Home Secretary, has, we believe, committed a bad blunder. His case is that this paper published "scurrilous misrepresentations, distorted and exaggerated statements, and irresponsible generalizations . . . tending to undermine the army and depress the whole population." In a statement in the House of Commons Mr. Morrison mentioned particularly a cartoon implying that British seamen were risking their lives to swell the profits of the oil corporations, but in addition he referred to criticisms of military leaders. Prime Minister Churchill also declared in a recent speech that he drew the line at tolerating "propaganda" which disturbed the army or undermined the confidence of the country "in the qualities and character of our devoted corps of officers." This suggests that the British War Office, smarting under such defeats as that at Singapore, is trying to silence those who have questioned its efficiency. Possibly the critics have not always been fair, and the *Daily Mirror* certainly appears to have couched its strictures in rather crude terms. There is no question, however, about this paper's whole-hearted support of the war; indeed, it was strongly anti-Nazi in days when some men still in the British Cabinet were intent only on appeasing Hitler. Its suppression could only mean that British leadership had become so unsure of itself that it was unable to withstand honest but pungent expressions of disapproval.

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SMALL BUSINESSES WITH WAR CONTRACTS may obtain working capital directly from the army, navy, or Maritime Commission under an executive order issued by the President last week. This step enlarges one of the bottlenecks which have prevented use of machinery in small shops, but it will not solve the problem. Regardless of capital, the small plants cannot operate without orders. So far, no country-wide system has been devised for getting orders through to the small subcontractor. Several localities, including Philadelphia, appear to have tackled the problem effectively. But the War Production Board has never been sufficiently concerned with the situation to devise a workable nation-wide arrangement. The provision for loans seems to have been decided on under pressure from the Senate, which had its own plan for aiding the small producer. It is to be hoped the WPB will soon undertake a complete inventory of idle machinery as a preliminary to full utilization of our industrial facilities.

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STANDARD OIL'S ACTION IN MAKING ITS synthetic-rubber patents available to Nazi Germany while denying them to American and British firms has rightly brought down a storm of indignation on the heads of the company's officials. But as Thurman Arnold has pointed out, Standard Oil's record is in no way different

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from that of several other powerful American firms. What is urgently needed is legislation prohibiting American firms from participating in cartels where such action involves disposal of American processes of possible military or strategic importance. Moreover, as Mr. Arnold recommended, steps should be taken to insure the registration of all patent license agreements and of all agreements between American companies and foreign industries. Mr. Arnold also recommended vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust act, and it is rather unfortunate that almost simultaneously he should have been persuaded to join Attorney General Biddle and Secretaries Knox and Stimson in signing a memorandum, later indorsed by the President, proposing a kind of moratorium on anti-trust prosecutions for the period of the war. But we doubt that this step is of quite such tragic importance as I. F. Stone implies in this week's Washington letter. For one thing, under his war powers the President is able to force the freeing of essential war patents without a lengthy court procedure, and he can also, by commandeering the plant of any recalcitrant firm, circumvent attempts by monopolists to impede war production. Moreover, Mr. Roosevelt stressed the fact that violations of the anti-trust laws would not be dropped but merely postponed and that there would be immediate prosecution where fraud against the government was involved.

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IF ANYTHING COULD BE MORE ILL-TIMED and exaggerated than Milton Mayer's article, The Case Against the Jew, in the *Saturday Evening Post,* it was Ralph Ingersoll's attack on Milton Mayer in *PM.* Mayer could not have chosen a worse moment to vent his spleen on the sort of Jew he doesn't like—who is, examined closely, merely the sort of person he doesn't like. He believes, it would seem, that only when the Jew becomes a perfect human being, free from the greed and envy and desire for acceptance common to all ordinary people, will he be relieved of the fears that now pursue him. This doctrine, it seems to us, applies with equal effect to the rest of the human race. Mr. Mayer's rather muddled views, expressed in violent language and published in a mass-circulation magazine which until yesterday was bitterly isolationist, can only help to spread or intensify anti-Semitic feeling at a time when such feeling is peculiarly dangerous. But when Ralph Ingersoll indulges in an equally vitriolic attack on Mayer, distorting his opinions on the Jewish question and linking them with opposition to the war, he does the cause of racial tolerance no good either. He not only called widespread atttention to the article but may even have created a reaction in Mayer's favor. It is an unhappy commentary on America's war-time journalism that a sensational article like Mayer's should become a *cause célèbre* while a sober analysis of the same subject by Waldo Frank in the preceding issue of the *Post* went all but unnoticed.

Labor and Its Enemies

THE Congressional blitzkrieg against labor standards has been checked with the exposure of some far from disinterested snakes among the grass roots. I. F. Stone in last week's *Nation* gave a detailed account of the way the "spontaneous" public demand for abolition of the forty-hour week was launched in Oklahoma by a reactionary publisher-industrialist. Since then Senator Thomas of Utah has uncovered the slimy trail of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and light has been shed on the activities of the Southern States Industrial Council, which under cover of war necessity is trying to obtain for its sweatshop members repeal of a law that it opposed bitterly but in vain.

It has also been amply demonstrated that workers in most war industries are in fact putting in far more than forty hours per week and that loss of time through strikes—an issue introduced into the debate in order to stir up feeling against the unions—has been reduced to infinitesimal proportions. Men really qualified to express themselves on the question of the effects of the forty-hour law on production have protested most emphatically against the Smith-Vinson bill. "If we abolish the forty-hour week by law," Donald M. Nelson told the House Naval Affairs Committee, "we do not gain one hour of additional work in our war industries; but naturally we create a widespread demand for increases in wage rates, throw the entire wage structure out of adjustment, and remove an important incentive for labor to shift from non-essential industries into war-production jobs."

Mr. Nelson's views on this subject have been indorsed by so staunch an exponent of the Wall Street view as *Barron's,* the national financial weekly, which has declared editorially: "What people who rant against the forty-hour week fail to realize is that it has worked itself into the country's wage structure just as completely as the basic hourly rates themselves. Or, to put it another way, it has *held down* the hourly rates wherever it has provided the overtime means of raising weekly wages." Even William P. Witherow, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, was not prepared to indorse the Smith-Vinson bill or to support the claim that it would increase output. In some areas, he declared, it would speed production; in others, "it might easily tend to slow it down."

In the light of such testimony the agitation against existing labor standards is revealed as a wanton attempt to use the war emergency as an excuse for wrecking the New Deal. Its authors have proved themselves saboteurs of the cause they claim to represent, and they have pushed their campaign regardless of the damage it was bound to inflict on national unity and workers'

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morale. In the words of a Southern newspaper, the Montgomery *Advertiser,* which has sharply attacked the anti-labor attitude of some Southern Congressmen, "It is not altogether how long a man works but also how vigorously, whether he puts his 'heart into it.' American workmen are human. They are not going to be as enthusiastically behind the war effort if they know that their well-known enemies are making capital of the war situation. Those who seek personal advantage on this issue now are as much 'gimme boys' as anyone else."

Any attempt to impugn the patriotism of the trade-union movement as a whole is utterly unjustified. By surrendering their right to strike for the duration the unions made a bigger sacrifice than many people realize. And although misleading publicity for a handful of unauthorized strikes has endeavored to give a contrary impression, they are keeping their word even in the face of great provocation. We have recently been informed, for instance, that in a great aircraft works where the United Automobile Workers has organized a strong minority of the employees, a number of its members have recently been dismissed for various alleged reasons but actually for union activities. The union has appealed to the War Labor Board, but that body has such a choked calendar that it cannot promise consideration of the case for many weeks. Meanwhile dismissals continue, and the local leaders are hard put to keep their members from expressing their indignation by a walkout.

Nor is abstention from strikes the only contribution which the unions are making to the cause of increased and continuous production. The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have just agreed to abandon the customary contract provision for double-time on Sundays when that day is not the seventh successive working day. Many unions have given up time-honored practices and privileges which tended to check output. Many—for instance, the C. I. O. Shipyard Workers—are fostering training schemes regardless of the effect that a great increase of trained workers may have on conditions after the war when work may not be so plentiful. These are only a few examples of the ways in which organized labor is adjusting itself to the national need for all-out production. And as Robert Lynd points out on another page, labor's contribution would be even more important if it had a real share of responsibility on the industrial front.

On the basis of their war record, then, the unions can easily challenge comparison with any other large group in the country. Yet it must be admitted that they have not won for themselves anything like so assured a position in national life as that enjoyed by the British labor organizations. To some extent this fact may be ascribed to perpetual misrepresentation of labor in the overwhelming majority of newspapers. But the unions themselves are not entirely free from blame. A minority among them have developed practices which undoubtedly provide useful ammunition for labor's enemies. The recent attack by Thurman Arnold was ill-timed, as Attorney General Biddle said, since it coincided with the phony agitation against the wage-and-hour law. It was also unfair because it attributed to all unions various types of wrongdoing of which only a comparative few are guilty. But it remains true that there have been attempts by unions to extend protection of their members to the point of ruthless monopoly; there are unions which act as a cloak for racketeers, unions which use strong-arm methods to coerce employers and even their own dissident members, unions in which democratic methods have been reduced to a farce. And these sins of a minority are visited on the heads of all organized workers. It is more than time that the leaders of the C. I. O. and more particularly the A. F. of L. took vigorous action to purge their ranks of parasitic growths which are weakening the foundations of American trade unionism. Only a labor movement which is democratic in practice as well as in theory, which makes itself the spokesman and guardian of the workers, can hope to achieve an unassailable position in the country—now and when the war ends.

Dies in the Spring

MARTIN DIES has opened the spring drive on progressives by going out gun in hand for the Board of Economic Warfare. In a letter addressed to Vice-President Wallace but "mailed" through the press the Texan claimed that "an initial check" showed that "at least thirty-five high government officials" employed by the board "have public records which show affiliation with front organizations of the Communist Party." An initial check on Dies's initial check shows that his principal source of information is still the same old membership list of the American League for Peace and Democracy published by his committee two and a half years ago.

The prize exhibit in Dies's new researches combines politics with sex. Three pages of his five-and-a-half-page letter are devoted to Maurice Parmelee, and the case against him is worth examining in detail because it illustrates so well the Texan's unsavory methods. Parmelee is held up to indignation as author of a book on "Nudism in Modern Life." It is pointed out that he was born in Constantinople—no doubt a harem voluptuary—that he omitted the nudism study from the books listed on his application for a job as economist with the board, that the book was held obscene by a federal court, and that Parmelee has written "propaganda treatises for communism."

What Dies didn't bother to mention is that Parmelee had the indecency to be born in Constantinople only because his parents were both Congregational mission-

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aries to Turkey from their native state of Vermont, that his book on nudism was not named in his application for a government job because the application blank did not ask what books he had written, that the federal court which held the book obscene was reversed by the Circuit Court in a decision which paid tribute to Parmelee as a writer, and that such "propaganda treatises for communism" as Parmelee's "Bolshevism, Fascism, and the Liberal-Democratic State" are propaganda treatises for the last, not the first or second.

Vice-President Wallace, in an indignant and moving letter, makes a few other points "overlooked" in the Dies letter. Dies deliberately made it appear that Parmelee was employed in the tiny post-war-planning section of the board "because of the chance it gave him to draw utterly false inferences from the book on nudism." The fact that Parmelee had worked for the United States War Trade Board on blockade control in London during the last war and later served as special assistant to Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes is never mentioned by Dies—for these facts would run counter to his purpose. This purpose is still his old purpose—to hound progressives out of the government. He knows as well as the Vice-President does that Parmelee is not and never has been a Communist—nor has C. Hartley Grattan or Eugene Staley or T. A. Bisson, to select a few others mentioned in the Dies letter.

This unprincipled attack shows the need for organizing immediately to fight Dies constantly, day after day, not merely once a year; to fight now against the grant of an appropriation to him by Congress, and to defend the Board of Economic Warfare. Dies cites with glee the case of Malcolm Cowley, *New Republic* editor, whose life in Washington was made miserable for three months and who was finally driven out of the OFF by a campaign of lies as dirty as any the capital has seen. The campaign originated with the Hearst press, which worked closely with Dies. The New York *Journal-American* even ran a long story about an attack made on Cowley by Dies on the floor of the House—an attack which was not made until twenty-four hours after the paper appeared!

The OFF preferred to let Cowley resign rather than face a long and gruelling fight with Dies, but the use made of the Cowley resignation in this new attack proves that there is no safety in retreat or appeasement. In a Washington which has more than its quota of America Firsters, pro-fascists, and anti-Semites among gentlemen presumably engaged in prosecuting the war, the editor of a liberal weekly is regarded as too subversive for public office. Not the least of the services Dies performs for fascism is keeping out of Washington the kind of people most needed for a vigorous democratic conduct of our production and propaganda agencies. Administrative officials have grown fearful of hiring progressives, and progressives have grown fearful of taking government jobs. One of the most pressing campaigns in the war on the Washington front is a drive against Martin Dies.

The Ban on Burlesque

NEITHER the press nor the public has exhibited much interest in Mayor LaGuardia's most recent —and still continuing—attempt to make his whim law in the government of New York City. No doubt he is counting on the fact that few intelligent citizens are interested in burlesque theaters *per se,* but if his entering wedge stays put we may wake up some morning to find the whole institution of the theater subject to an arbitrary control and all the laws now intended to protect it completely nullified. Where the Mayor plans to go from there remains to be seen, but possibly Archbishop Spellman and Bishop Manning, who are behind the present move, have some further suggestions in mind.

The conspiracy involves the old device of using licensing authority as an instrument for enforcing a completely arbitrary and wholly illegal censorship. For some years now Commissioner of Licenses Paul Moss, apparently acting under the Mayor's direction, has been harassing the burlesque theaters. Some time ago he ruled that neither the word "burlesque" nor the name "Minsky" could be used. He also raised the annual licensing fee from $500 to $1,000 and made the licenses renewable quarterly. Then on the evening of January 23, 1942, one hour and forty-five minutes before the current license of the Gaiety Theater expired, he announced that it would not be renewed. Commissioner Moss freely admits that neither the managers nor any of the performers have ever been prosecuted for indecency. Somewhat less freely he also admits that the Mayor's Committee on Burlesque, composed of representative unpaid members appointed by the Mayor himself, has recommended that the license of the Gaiety be renewed. Yet the only reason assigned for the refusal is alleged indecency, and if one wonders why the indecency, supposing it actually exists, has not been prosecuted under the laws provided, one will find the answer in a broadcast made by the Mayor over the municipal station on February 1, 1942. The legal method, said the Mayor, takes too long. In other words, it is evident that he, like certain other persons now in the public eye, feels that democratic and legal processes have outlived their usefulness. Dictators are more efficient.

Of course the question whether or not the performances at the Gaiety were or were not indecent within the meaning of the present law is not really relevant. The report of the Mayor's Committee would certainly seem to indicate that they were not. But if they were, adequate machinery is provided by the existing laws, and that machinery should be used. If it is not used and if the

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Mayor succeeds in establishing by precedent the right to refuse licenses purely at the discretion of the licenser, then a censorship of the most completely arbitrary and absolute sort has been established in plain contravention of the law's intention. Greenbaum, Wolff, and Ernst are representing the plaintiff, and Supreme Court Justice Aaron J. Levy has issued an order to show cause why Commissioner Moss should not be required to issue a license. Unless he is compelled to do so, democratic process will have lost an important round.

Handcuffing Thurman Arnold

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 29

TODAY'S announcement of the new policy on anti-trust prosecutions is an extraordinary climax to Thurman Arnold's revelations during the past week. Arnold had disclosed the way in which Standard Oil placed loyalty to its Nazi partner, I. G. Farben, above loyalty to the United States. He had shown that the development of synthetic rubber and many other important war materials in this country was stifled by Standard Oil on orders from Berlin. He had revealed, in the top ranks of Standard and its du Pont and Mellon allies, men who appear more interested in protecting their holdings abroad and their monopolies at home than in winning the war. These men and their henchmen are apparently so powerful that, after all these revelations, they can slip the handcuffs on Thurman Arnold. The oil trust is calmly thumbing its nose at the American people.

It seems that the anti-trust laws, not the trusts, have been holding up the war effort. A War Production Board official tells me gravely that one War Department compilation showed that an anti-trust prosecution had lost the country 124 days and 23 evenings of the valuable time of one executive vice-president of an unnamed company! The international-cartel agreements on aluminum and synthetics and magnesium and dyestuffs will cost us precious lives and years. Yet here are the President and Attorney General Biddle and Secretary Stimson and Secretary Knox and the unwilling Arnold himself agreeing that prosecution of these and similar trust arrangements may be postponed for the duration because they take up too much of the time of important executives. The country would be better off if we lost all the time of some of these executives. If the officials of I. G. Farben had dared to act like some of the officials of Standard Oil, they would have been in a concentration camp a long time ago, thanking their lucky stars that they hadn't been shot. Here we put up a sign outside their offices, "Do not disturb."

Inquiries into dyestuffs and magnesium are pending. Both are important in the war effort. Are they to be pinched off under the new policy? Either the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy may veto the Attorney General, and the Attorney General can override their veto on a proposed prosecution only by appealing directly to the President. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy and the men around them were bred in the atmosphere and the service of big business and finance. Some among them have shown a capacity to rise above their background and training that commands confidence and earns gratitude. But these are the exceptions. Even with the best intentions a man cannot altogether shake loose from the habits and preconceptions of a lifetime. Their sympathies, their old friends, their dinner partners, often their own methods in business predispose them toward the very men Arnold has been attacking. If they had possessed this veto power six months ago, would Arnold have been allowed to continue the Standard Oil-I. G. Farben inquiry? I doubt it.

Had Standard Oil come forward after Pearl Harbor and offered to give up its foreign connections and place its patents at the disposal of the country, no one would object to a "let-bygones-be-bygones" attitude toward our anti-trust laws for the duration. But Standard did not do this. It threatened a libel suit when Nathan W. Robertson, one of *PM's* Washington correspondents, revealed that Standard was refusing to pool its patents for butyl along with other synthetic-rubber formulas. It sought by underhanded means to keep its German connections even after we were in the war. Most important of all, Standard went right on stifling the development of war synthetics until Arnold got the goods on it and forced it into a consent decree. Who knows how many other cartel agreements hobbling this country's war effort are still in effect? Since the new anti-trust policy covers investigations as well as suits and prosecutions, War and Navy officials will often be faced with a choice between Arnold's suspicions and the assurances of their old friends and business associates. Is Arnold to be bound and gagged?

I asked a WPB official why the decision to suspend the anti-trust laws had not been made by Donald Nelson instead of by Stimson and Knox. He said Nelson didn't want the responsibility. It was felt that it would be wiser to leave the decision with the armed services since

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the public regarded the War Production Board as dominated by business men. I suggested that the armed services when examined turned out to be as thoroughly dominated by big business men and corporation lawyers as the WPB. The answer very candidly was that the public didn't realize this. One of the sources of this new policy, for example, is a General Walter B. Pyron in Under Secretary of War Patterson's office. Pyron is liaison man between the War Department and the oil industry. He sits in on the meetings of the Petroleum War Industrial Council, a private, not a governmental, body. Suspension of the anti-trust laws for the duration was one of the main objectives of the council's meeting on March 3 and 4, and General Pyron carried the council's wishes to Patterson. The General was until recently vice-president of the Mellon Gulf Oil Company.

The oil trust which was so anxious to accommodate itself to Nazi business methods, and which now has its men in almost every important agency in Washington, is vitally concerned in bringing about a virtual suspension of the anti-trust laws. It wants to kill off the suit filed by Arnold against the trust in September of 1940. It has already disposed of his Elkins Act suit against its pipe lines with a consent decree so weak that the two attorneys who worked on the case for the government refused to sign it, and one of them resigned in disgust. More important than these suits are the protection of its secret world-wide agreements and connections and the precious patents it holds on the multifarious range of synthetic products which can now be made from petroleum. Oil is becoming a chemical industry, and Rockefeller and du Pont are merging their lordly empires. The consent decree on synthetic rubber leaves with them much of their power over the new synthetics, and the country remains dependent on their good faith and good-will. An Administration determined to let nothing stand in the way of victory would seize their patents under the War Powers Act and purge the government of their henchmen, instead of making them safe from the one weapon the people can use against them, the anti-trust laws.

What's Right with Britain

BY RALPH BATES

LORD HALIFAX'S speech of March 19 showed that London has taken note of the sinister growth of anti-British feeling in this country. Let there be no mistake about it; distrust of Britain does increase rather than diminish. Most of this is the consequence of two things—British reverses in the Far East, particularly the loss of Singapore, and the fact that Britain has not yet invaded the Continent. The unjustified defeatism that has resulted is being exploited by the pro-fascists and the appeasers, for it lends plausibility to a charge that, unlike rational criticism, tends to destroy the foundations of trust between the United States and Britain. Quite simply Britain is accused of refusing to fight.

None of the critics offer an analysis of the military problem, for that would show, as Lord Halifax showed in general terms, that far more is right with Britain than wrong. And to put liberal criticism of the production effort in proper perspective, it may be said that had there been as much reorganization as the necessity for preserving national unity permitted, production today might be perhaps 20 per cent higher than it is. To achieve that 20 per cent increase is vitally important for the future, but so far as the past is concerned, it could not have given Britain victory.

Lord Halifax was excellent in that part of his speech which dealt with the Libyan campaigns, the importance of which is not generally understood. But his argument would have been more powerful had it been placed against a background of recent history.

One simple military idea must be kept in mind. Since Britain is a factory-fortress that at all costs must be held, what it must do before it can invade the Continent or pour unstinted forces into far-off battlefields is to reach a state of "over-defense." It is only the surplus of force that can normally be gambled. If the island base were sacrificed, even though the bulk of the German army were destroyed in a battle on the Continent, the security of the United States also might well be destroyed. Wars can be won or lost by the smallest of margins nowadays. It is this simple conception which explains Britain's apparent weakness up to now. That Britain can only recently have reached a state of adequate defense will be proved by a review of the situation at the time of the Norwegian campaign and immediately after Dunkirk.

The following estimate, though it conflicts with that given in Mr. Churchill's speech of June 18, 1940, cannot be far wrong. After the collapse of France about one million men were on the "ration strength" of the British army. At least half of these were practically untrained recruits; only a part of the remainder were sufficiently trained to have been able to take the field had they possessed enough arms. As it was, only the Canadian corps of 60,000 men was thoroughly equipped; one British corps of the same size was nearing that condition.

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How many tanks there were is not known, though the dispatch of one armored division to Egypt in July gravely imperiled England. Some 120,000 first-class troops, then, were all that Britain possessed to meet the invasion Hitler had promised. Besides this force, of course, there was the hastily formed Home Guard of half a million men. Armed with shotguns and semi-obsolete rifles rushed to Britain from this country, untrained, immobile, the Home Guard was essentially a civilian militia incapable of front-line duty against an army like that of Germany. The navy, suddenly faced with the defection of the French and the entry of the Italian fleet, and the small but superb R. A. F. were Britain's real defenses. There was no hope of winning effective allies, nor any possibility of getting large supplies of arms quickly. Britain, in those days, lived on its nerves.

That was the starting-point of the country's rearmament campaign. The paralytic hand of Chamberlain had been struck from the wheel in May. Mr. Churchill, adroitly annihilating Chamberlain with what purported to be a speech in his defense, declared that Norway had been lost for lack of arms rather than because of culpable failure on the part of the navy. With the Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress welcomed into cooperation, the response of the working classes was tremendous, and the appeasers were reduced to comparative nullity. It was not rhetoric when Mr. Churchill declared that "thousands of men and women did not remove their clothes for weeks at a time, and men worked until they dropped beside their lathes." The pace set proved too severe to maintain and in the interest of production itself had to be relaxed. How much had been accomplished when next the war flared up is impossible to say. If half a million men or thereabouts had been fully equipped and thoroughly trained by the end of 1940, it was a great achievement. These troops were of course infantry. There could have been no ample supply of tanks. "Over-defense" certainly had not been reached when the pool of forces had to be tapped for campaigns in Libya, Greece, and Crete.

At any rate, the foreseen defeat in Greece at once awakened the cry, "Too little and too late." Competent soldiers have been specific in their criticism of the Balkan campaign. They have pointed to wrongly chosen lines of resistance and indicated alternatives. That is legitimate and useful. At the most, however, given the neutrality of the Soviet Union and Turkey, all that could have been done was to fight a better delaying action. Possibly more than the 58,000 troops that were sent could have been dispatched to Greece. If they had been, the German staff would have smiled with pleasure, for if we put the German army's strength at that time as low as 240 divisions, with 90 to 100 divisions on the Russian frontier and possibly 40 engaged in garrison and police duty elsewhere, it is still reasonable to suppose that Hitler could have swept away an Anglo-Greek army of any practicable size. Again, the British had too few fighter planes in Crete and too few airports. That without endangering the British Isles too greatly they could have supplied enough planes to turn back the bombers that destroyed the Cretan air bases is not to be believed.

It happens that the criticism of the Balkan campaign admirably illustrates the true nature of the problem. Some critics in Britain argued then, as they do now, that any expenditure of troops upon outlying campaigns is unjustified in that it puts off the day of a Continental invasion. For political reasons they were wrong. To have abandoned Greece might have put Turkey in the enemy's camp. The resistance Hitler encountered in the Balkans postponed his invasion of Russia and prevented the German army from closing its pincers around Moscow.

A more radical school of criticism, including Lieutenant Colonel Garsia in his "Planning the War," contended that Britain's purely military potential would always remain so much lower than Germany's that it was unwise to think of sending a B. E. F. to engage the Reichswehr. To do so would be to match Britain's greatest weakness against Germany's greatest strength. These critics demanded, therefore, a deliberate concentration upon air effort. Germany was to be bombed into surrender. And since it was not parity in number of planes and personnel that the R. A. F. would need for this task, or even a two-to-one superiority, but a four-to-one or six-to-one superiority, those who thought this way pointed out that Britain could not build such an air force and at the same time arm a great expeditionary force; that is to say, the idea of a major land invasion was a total error.

The mistake of the Garsia school lay in its root assumption that the war would remain a limited one, between Britain and the Axis powers, with the United States serving as arsenal and check to Japan. Nothing more clearly illustrates the connection between wise production planning and a sound political understanding of the world forces in play. London had reasoned correctly about the war. Throughout 1940 and early 1941 delaying actions alone could be fought if "over-defense" was to be reached. At a later date the temptation to throw away the excess of strength had to be resisted.

One result of the German invasion of the Soviet Union was that an enormous sector of British public opinion at once demanded the opening of a second front. The demand could not be met. There is reason to believe that Stalin himself realized that no major front could be opened by Britain. Nor can he have had any doubt that every tank and plane he accepted from Britain delayed the arming of a B. E. F. It is, by the way, a mistake to imagine that the "second-front" campaign in Britain was merely a Communist affair. The British people's warm admiration for the Red Army and their solidarity with

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Russia are chiefly sincere expressions of their resolve to defeat the Axis. Relief also enters into it, as well as exasperation at Britain's enforced absence from the Continent. That the Munich appeasers had spurned Russia is another factor. If any political declaration was responsible for British enthusiasm for Russia it was Mr. Churchill's magnificent speech of June 23, in which that pre-war advocate of collaboration with the Soviets rallied Britain, and the world, for the new tasks ahead.

Since June 22, 1941, the world situation has been profoundly changed. But though Britain has gained mighty allies, the Japanese onslaught has again complicated matters and, for a while at least, has slowed up Britain's growth in strength. Nevertheless, and despite the new importance of the Suez region, steady progress is being made.

Anti-British feeling here is, I have said, the result not only of the failure to invade the Continent but of the Far Eastern defeats, particularly the loss of Singapore. In estimating London's degree of blame for these events, the same general considerations must be taken into account. Once France had laid down its arms and Indo-China had become a Japanese corridor, the defense of the Malayan base became extremely difficult. Without the aid of the United States, Britain could not have undertaken that offensive action against Indo-China and Thailand which would seem at this date to have been the only way to hold Malaya. Tactics were poor, doubtless, and again planes were too few and of out-of-date types. Even unofficial critics, however, had no conception of Japan's striking power, which China had weakened far less than most had supposed.

Turning, then to Europe, which for Britain must remain the principal theater of the war, what is the present ratio of strength of the antagonists? It is reasonable to believe that the German army itself contains between 280 and 300 divisions and that their distribution is as follows:

On the Russian front....	Approximately 160	divisions
In reserve for that front..	" 60	"
In Norway	" 8	"
In France	" 20	"
In Italy (the Libyan base)	" 10	"
In general reserve.....	" 30	"
Total	Approximately 288	divisions

A few Italian and Rumanian divisions of poor quality are on the Russian front, as is also the Finnish army. Germany's allies provide much of the police and garrison force required for the occupied countries. Thus in Yugoslavia, the only one where serious military difficulties are being encountered, Bulgarian troops are used to combat General Mikhailovich's guerrilla army.

Assuming that the imperial armies in India, Egypt, and Asia Minor have been greatly strengthened, the forces within the British Isles may be put at 100 divisions, well trained and equipped. There may be another 20 to 30 divisions that fall short of this condition. The Home Guard has become a well-trained force of two million, and the personnel of the R. A. F. has been put as high as three-quarters of a million. On a population basis Russia can probably muster thirteen million men over a long period, but how many it can keep in the field at one time no one outside Moscow knows.

A British force invading France, it would seem, would meet at least twenty and perhaps thirty divisions, assuming the Soviets are still able to engage the main German army. Could Britain alone undertake such a venture? If the B. E. F. ought to be at least twice as large as the army opposing it, the answer must be no. Moreover, it must be remembered that British troops are largely untried in battle; very few of them can have had any experience of the most difficult of all feats, that of landing upon a hostile shore supplied with a splendid system of hinterland communications. Two other difficulties are obvious. The debarking of heavy equipment requires port facilities that the Germans would surely destroy if light or air-borne troops appeared likely to establish a beach head. More important, Britain's shipping problem is a crucial one. The American World War ratio of seven and one-half tons of shipping per man is certainly too high for so short a sea passage, but even at a rate of from two and one-half to four tons, the transportation required for, say, half a million men would seem to be beyond Britain's power to supply. The chosen theater for a Continental invasion would have to be one in which the B. E. F. could so rapidly achieve total mastery that Hitler could be shut out of it, without possibility of his drawing continuously upon reserves. There must be no second Dunkirk. While the Britain of 1942, I believe, will have so far passed the mark of "defense" that it might open a new front, it cannot risk engagement with the total German forces not occupied in Russia.

Moreover, a new crisis threatens. It is unwise to assume that Hitler will necessarily strike at European Russia this spring. With Japan's fingers groping at the throat of India and the Germans still reaching for Egypt, the United Nations must consider themselves menaced by a move which, if successful, would profoundly affect the grand strategy of the United Nations. As Lord Halifax said, it is relatively easy for Germany to reinforce its Libyan army. It is extremely difficult for Britain to do so, for Libya is 12,000 miles distant by sea from the home base. For Germany the Suez campaign would be at once the most effective means of foiling a Continental invasion and of reducing Britain's aid to the Soviets.

Britain's strength is growing steadily. In a certain sense, however, a "hump" has been encountered. It is one that able men in Britain have long foreseen. Modified capitalism, with its corollary of "free" wage- and

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price-fixing, has provided the framework—and the check—to British effort. The conscription of the entire population is at present enabling the government to put each day 5,000 more women to work in war industries, thus releasing men for the army. Much more needs to be done, though thoroughgoing reform will become possible only as the war drives home its lessons to a majority of the people.

The mood of Britain today is complex. That is the result partly of frustration and partly of the inadequacies of the social system. It is true, as Sir William Beveridge, the British expert on man-power utilization, has suggested, that the system of material rewards itself checks the growth of an all-out crusading spirit. There is still no sign of widespread understanding that the war must be fought as revolution. What exists is a grim determination that is short of blazing fervor. But lest the failure to carry out a startlingly radical social change be utilized by the fascists and their defeatist allies to drive a wedge between the United States and Britain, it is worth while to glance at the changes demanded by Sir William in an article in the London *Times* of March 17. He asks for nothing short of total state control of industries, prices and wages included, with the state as distributor of income and the trade unions surrendering their autonomy. This is democratic totalitarianism—no small order! Something like this will have to be done, and when it is done it will be without destroying the foundation of British democracy. Until then we must fasten our gaze upon the rock-bottom facts and await events. The facts alone will refute the abominable slanders which defeatists are believing at the prompting of scoundrels.

Three Years of Franco

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN *The Nation* of March 30, 1940, I published an analysis of one year of the Franco regime. The title of this article, with the difference of time, is the same, and the main conclusions are the same too. In 1942 the most striking feature of the Spanish situation is still "the incapacity of Franco's government to build even a totalitarian state of the Fascist or Nazi type," as I said in my short obituary two years ago. I use the word "obituary" not from any optimistic expectation of a quick collapse of the puppet state built up by Italy and Germany and nourished by the appeasement policy of the democracies but because everything in Spain today suggests just that—the inevitable decay of one of the most inefficient and unpopular regimes in the long history of tyranny. When I was asked the other day, in connection with the recent dangerous "trade" agreement between Argentina and Spain, what Spain could export, I replied "corpses." That was the shortest interview I had ever given, but I cannot help thinking that, briefly and brutally, it sums up the situation.

It is only in the field of repression that the Franco regime has approached the effectiveness of its Nazi masters. The Phalangist terror more closely follows the example of Berlin than of Rome, and wisely. Once a regime decides to kill as many adversaries as possible, it should follow the most efficient pattern. Nobody in the Ovra, the Italian Gestapo, can pretend to compete with Himmler.

I shall not tire the reader with figures showing how many people have been killed in Spain since my last anniversary comment. But he should know that, in spite of the frequent cables from Madrid announcing general amnesties, the repression goes on, and the shootings have decreased only in the degree that the number of qualified Republican prisoners to be liquidated has diminished. As I write these lines, the Vichy radio is sending out news of the death sentence pronounced against Carlos Rubiera, one of the last governors of the province of Madrid. "Condemned to death in connection with his participation in a Communist plot"—the old discredited story that has been the keynote of Gestapo communiqués from Paris every time the death of a dozen or a hundred hostages has been exacted for the extermination of a Nazi sergeant. Rubiera could never have been implicated in a Communist plot. Of all the Socialist followers of the former Premier Largo Caballero, Carlos Rubiera was undoubtedly one of the most rabid anti-Communists. He was arrested in Madrid when the Franco troops first entered the capital and until now has been held in prison without trial.

The shooting of Republicans goes on in authentic Nazi style. The technique, as I said, is more German than Italian. I know from the best sources that the Phalangists once received a significant rebuke from their Italian comrades in aggression against the Spanish people. After a dinner in honor of an Italian delegation visiting Madrid some of the Phalangist hosts suggested a "rather exciting after-dinner entertainment." Not a Spanish *zarzuela* or a "star dance." Something more modern, more to the Axis taste. They proposed going to the main prison in Madrid to see "a couple of dozen Republicans shot" in the patio. The Italian delegates

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politely declined. Previously some Nazi visitors had not only accepted a similar invitation but had taken part in the shooting themselves.

For the rest, the regime is characterized by incapacity and more incapacity, beyond any words. Our constant prediction during the Spanish war that the Franco crowd, left to themselves, would be incapable of organizing the so-called "national syndicalist" state or any other kind of state has been conclusively justified. The only thing they have achieved is terror, death, hunger, and typhus. All the rest is chaos, or grandiose plans—on paper only—for building a great navy, or for reconstructing Spain, or for reconquering America.

Of course Franco and his followers are active, and may even be efficient, in their role as vassals. Under direct German supervision they quite accurately carry out Nazi orders. They send to Germany everything that the Nazis can extract from a Spain economically so utterly disorganized. They send some metals; they send workers from Andalusia and other regions; they send "volunteers" to die for Hitler on the Russian front; they even send the little food that might, if they could keep it, alleviate a state of starvation which can be matched only in Poland and Greece. They have put their ports at the service of Germany's submarines and have sent Phalangist agitators to Argentina to sign a trade agreement that allows Germany to establish itself in the heart of South America.

Similarly, the official attitude of the democracies toward Franco's Spain has changed very little. It is true that Franco has not obtained the often-rumored loan through which certain elements in the various foreign offices hoped to bribe him into the orbit of the United Nations. But their flirtation with a regime committed to a life-or-death support of Hitler has never been given up. It makes no difference that the Franco ambassador in Berlin, Count Mayalde, asserts boldly, "We Spaniards stand by the side of Nazi Germany because we know that the profound transformation in the political economy and social order which the Phalangist revolution is effecting in Spain *cannot succeed without the definite triumph of German National Socialism";* that press, radio, and government officials abuse the British and American nations, insulting the British Prime Minister and the President of the United States; that in Latin America the Phalanx has already passed from the stage of mere agitation to active political warfare against the democracies. Ignoring these little matters, Sir Samuel Hoare and Ambassador Weddell can always report a pleasant smile from Serrano Suñer, Franco's Foreign Minister—as if Kurusu, Japan's special envoy, did not also smile during the negotiations in Washington in the week before Pearl Harbor.

One thing and one thing only has definitely changed in the two years since my earlier commentary in *The Nation.* Inside Spain the opposition to the Franco administration has spread to all elements of the population. The army nourishes its old resentment against the Phalanx, which during the war never betrayed any eagerness to be on the firing line. The Phalanx itself, though it rules the country, is aware of the enemies in its ranks. At the end of the war, before the government left Spain, we gave orders to those of our comrades who could not be easily identified to join the Phalanx. Since then they have worked from inside against the Franco regime and they are still active despite the continuous purge. The industrialists, the Spanish Thyssens, who financed Franco, are dissatisfied and disillusioned; instead of insuring their own interests they are now caught in a situation in which economic life is at a standstill and profits non-existent. The small shopkeepers resent being held responsible by the authorities for the shortages of food and other goods; last November the state began applying the decree which provides the death sentence for retailers who "hide goods"—goods that do not exist. From the beginning it has been clear that the Franco dictatorship could not survive a Hitler defeat; today many people in Spain doubt that it can prolong its existence even until the cessation of the fighting in Europe.

This extension and crystallization of the opposition against Franco has had a very healthy effect upon the Spanish émigrés. Their unification has advanced farther in the last two months than in the previous two years. In Mexico a new organization, the Spanish Democratic Union, has been created in which are represented practically all the parties and labor organizations that fought together during the Spanish war. In Chile, which after Mexico shelters the greatest number of Spanish refugees, the various political groups have united under the direction of Señor Soriano, the last Loyalist ambassador. In Buenos Aires people who six months ago had never signed a joint declaration have issued a vigorous statement supporting the democracies and urging unity among the émigrés. The signers include the former Moderate Republican Foreign Minister, Augusto Barcia; Luis Jimenez de Asua, a Socialist friendly to Indalecio Prieto; and Colonel Galán, the famous Communist commander. Of course some well-known personalities still remain aloof from this united effort against Franco, but as parties and groups move closer together, their "isolationism" becomes every day more difficult.

Spain's relation to the war itself has not changed in the last two years. Today, as in 1940, it is Hitler who holds the decision. Economically and politically Spain is already in the New Order; it will come in as a military partner whenever a setback on the Russian front or some shift in Nazi strategy makes Franco's active participation seem more useful than his present active "neutrality." It is entirely up to Hitler.

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Not That Way, Mr. Nelson

BY ROBERT S. LYND

BUSINESS WEEK has just issued a twelve-page special report to executives entitled "1942—the Year to Win or Lose." Donald Nelson warns the country: "This year, 1942, is the critical year in the existence of the United States." What they mean is that events since December 7 have scrapped the plans of the United Nations to hold on in 1942 and prepare to go "all out" in 1943. Now we know that we either go "all out" this spring and summer—or we may actually lose the war. Like the British immediately after Dunkirk, the United States must sacrifice the longer production focus to the stark maximizing of what we have—now.

Meanwhile it is common talk in and outside Washington that the people of this country do not yet have their backs under this war. Washington is concerned over the growing isolationism and aversion to England and to some extent to all the United Nations. If such conditions as these exist, it is for identifiable reasons, and in this portentous year there must be no dodging those reasons if facing them can assure a different mood and the vitally needed increase in production.

Production concerns machines and men. What can be done about more machines in time to alter the next six months' production is sharply limited. What can be done about the human energy applied to those machines in thousands of already going factories throughout the country is, if not unlimited, incalculably great. And yet we face the problem of evoking that energy with an essentially negative and wizened attitude toward labor that grossly underestimates its readiness to act. Human motivation has been so constricted and battered under a system that says men do only what they are paid to do that we have habituated ourselves to expecting men to yield energy only grudgingly and under coaxing.

And so Washington is setting out to coax and beguile men to produce by the Nelson Plan. Ever since last autumn Washington has been watching the production plan of the Radio Corporation of America. The R. C. A. has had pep sessions for its workers, with movie actresses sliding from the factory roof in breeches buoys and all the usual whoop-er-up devices, as well as free midwinter trips to Miami for workers making the best suggestions for speeding up the plant's production. The Nelson Plan has streamlined the general type of procedure and is preparing to put it into mass production in all the war industries of the country.

The plan will be tried out first in some fifty key plants. Consultants from Sidney Hillman's staff will visit each plant and arrange for the organization of a management-labor committee to conduct the production drive. Each plant committee will be furnished with posters, stickers, pamphlets, and an instruction manual. Contests will be run for prize production slogans; stickers will be put on each worker's machine bearing such sentiments as "Every time you twist a nut, think of Hitler"; quota fulfilment for a plant will be dramatized pictorially by such devices as having a bullet move toward a picture of the Mikado every time a quota unit is completed in the plant; and a plan is being worked out to give medals to individual workers who turn in a superior production record.

All this is in the tradition of ballyhoo, of the advertising campaign and sales contest familiar to Americans. As *Business Week* remarks, it is designed to "put some sex appeal into industrial morale programs."

And it will have effect—that is, as much effect as a sales contest, and no more. But, Mr. Nelson, if 1942 is as crucial as you say, is this enough?

What the plan seeks to do is to get results by avoiding a reality that both Mr. Nelson and the workers on whom production depends recognize. For months the C. I. O. has been proposing that bona fide labor-management committees be set up and given the job of working out ways of increasing production. It has argued that labor will move in on war production in earnest if it is actually given more responsibility. And if the record of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union since last June means anything, that proposal makes sense. But Mr. Nelson counters with a proposal for management-worker committees which are to confine themselves to putting on plant pep campaigns. According to *Business Week*, Mr. Nelson "has little interest in or sympathy for" the C. I. O. proposal, and the intent of his plan is "(1) to sell the scheme to labor, warding off the stretch-out label, and (2) to divert the unions from their demand for a bigger voice in the management of industry to what Nelson considers their proper role—stimulation of the individual worker to greater effort." The same business journal, in its issue for March 21, heads its account of the actual opening of the production drive: "Production Drive—with Caution." "The caution," it goes on to report, "with which the problem is being approached was much in evidence at the New York regional management-labor meeting. . . . All of the speeches by WPB's representatives and consultants emphasized, 'This is purely a production drive.' . . . Attendance, around 300, was not so large as expected, and management was

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mainly silent in the discussion period. Great care was exercised in steering all discussion away from controversial questions. The session, which had been scheduled to run from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., would up at noon."

If 1942 is, as Mr. Nelson says, "the critical year in the existence of the United States," the year in which we may win or lose the war; if Mr. Nelson can now do little more to step up the number of machines for production *this spring and summer;* if the big potential is men and their will to work and if those men want something and Mr. Nelson does not like their wanting it and offers them "not bread, but a stone"—then all signs point to our being embarked on a reckless, self-defeating gamble on Mr. Nelson's preferences against the achievable fact of more production. It may seem unfair thus to personalize the bent of the production program by speaking of "Mr. Nelson's preferences," since he obviously reflects the caution of the Administration. But in times like these one must pin responsibility on the executive who actually throws the switch.

Donald M. Nelson

What must be realized, and fast, is that a war involving issues as deep as those in this war cannot be won by the tactics of a sales campaign. Labor's feelings are real, and if labor is the sticking point between us and production, those feelings must be dealt with realistically and generously. Labor has large reason to fear what may be done to its hard-won present status under cover of the war emergency. It reads of this threat daily in the newspapers. This being the case, it will do little good for Mr. Nelson to appeal to labor to give itself to the war effort while at the same time he adroitly circumvents its request that it be made a full partner in the war.

What labor asks is a simple thing—a thing without which the employers themselves have repeatedly refused to participate in the war effort. This simple and entirely proper request is for the right to participate in terms that have meaning to the participant. After all, the war is a long way from Middletown; war issues are vast and confused; and if the workers in Middletown factories are to find meaning in the war, that meaning must be felt by them where they live and in what they do, down there south of the tracks. War organization and morale, like all effective social organization, find meaning in personal idioms of living; they cannot be effectively imposed from without. Slogans, publicity campaigns, and "phony" management-worker committees imported from the remote world of Washington big shots can make people "feel good" temporarily, but such stunt campaigns will not make labor roll up its sleeves and fight.

The fact is that labor does not have to be persuaded to join up and go all out for things. Contrary to the tradition by which we have lived, people are not inert; they do not require to be coaxed into action. They are naturally and inveterately active, rarin' to go; they need no persuasion to participate in things—if given a chance to do something that seems like genuine sense to them. But the sense must be theirs, not Washington's or just the employers'. The vogue of all manner of group joining, from college rituals to the Townsend Plan, testifies to the almost pathetic eagerness of American folk to identify themselves with movements. We mobile, foot-loose, individualist Americans have dis-organized ourselves from social belonging until it hurts; and we know it in our ramifying insecurity. We are called "a nation of joiners," but studies of group affiliation reveal working-class people to be far less tied into group life than are the classes above them. A prevailing mood among an overwhelming share of the American population is hunger for precisely that sort of spontaneous group participation that stretches one "all out."

The fortitude of the British common man in the war has evoked universal admiration. And Americans immediately after Pearl Harbor gave similar copious evidence of their magnificent readiness to stand up under disaster. But fortitude is only a negative virtue when the situation demands positive action. Observers report rapidly mounting restlessness in England, and the same temper is beginning to be apparent here. In both countries it suggests that men want to do more. As a writer in the London *New Statesman and Nation* for February 14 of this year remarks, "The most deep-seated feeling in England today is one of envy—envy of the Russians, who are being allowed to fight 'all out.' "

If it is true that a great outpouring of popular energy —*now*—is crucial to our war effort, it is no less true that energy is lying all about us ready to go. All that is needed to trip the switch is the candid acceptance of labor as a full partner in the war effort. And yet it is precisely this that neither Mr. Churchill in England nor Mr. Nelson here is prepared to grant. The fact is that both the English upper classes and their American counterparts fear labor and are determined to minimize its formal share in the war. The repeatedly stated position of the National Association of Manufacturers has made this too clear for labor to have any illusions in the matter. And Mr. Nelson's plan for labor morale exhibits the same animus. On every hand there are appeals by the government and employers to lay aside factional issues, to avoid discussion of war aims, and to get on with the war. But these appeals rest on the unstated assumption that while we fight the war nothing fundamental must change. And on that rock the American war effort may founder.

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The temper of the ordinary man in America is not "radical," in any thoroughgoing sense of that word. American workers are deeply American in mood, not committed to foreign ideologies. The future they want is American. But American traditions have taught them to view the future with hope. They will work and fight magnificently for a future that means hope to them. At present they do not even demand pledges regarding that future but are prepared to go all out in an effort in which they can genuinely share. American labor, however, is more sophisticated than it was twenty-five years ago. And it will not be kidded or coaxed into committing its energies whole-heartedly to a program that seeks to freeze, or to shrink, the future for which it fights.

Mr. Nelson has already taken such extraordinary steps to speed up production as the suspension of competitive bidding on war contracts. Washington is discarding the slow, cagey tactic of hedging on its fears; it is putting action first, trusting to its ability to cope with such problems as may arise in the course of effective action. It is doing this everywhere save in its relations with labor. And yet labor, even more than machines, controls the potential level of output in these crucial months of 1942. Defensive tactics applied to labor won't do. The only way out is straight on through, discarding the fear that labor, too, may gain something from this war.

Technocrats in Uniform

BY WILL CHASAN AND VICTOR RIESEL

SEVERAL million Americans, upon opening their newspapers recently, probably stared incredulously at full-page advertisements that had been inserted by Technocracy, Inc. These advertisements, which appeared in more than thirty papers, urged the appointment of Howard Scott, Technocracy's leader, as "Director General of Defense." If the proposal was startling, the revelation that Technocracy was staging a comeback was hardly less so.

The movement, however, is no longer the opéra-bouffe affair of the early thirties whose leaders talked mystically of ergs and joules. It has undergone a thorough remodeling. A beguilingly simple program has replaced the cabalistic symbols; it promises $20,000 a year to everyone and appeals to prejudices ranging from prohibitionism to anglophobia. Uniforms and a salute have been acquired, and founder Scott has become "the Chief."

Technocracy, Inc., has grown mysteriously affluent. Scott told a Cleveland *Press* reporter that his newspaper advertising would cost "in excess of $50,000," and a New York reporter learned that Technocracy is "buying time on ninety-two radio stations." The organization publishes six expensively printed magazines and other literature, employs fifteen people at "continental headquarters" in a Manhattan skyscraper, and apparently plans to open offices in Washington. "The Chief" refuses to divulge the source of his organization's prosperity.

He is equally reticent on the subject of Technocracy's new trappings. At "continental headquarters" uniformed aides in "technocracy gray" salute him. Fleets of automobiles painted "technocracy gray" escort him to meetings, where the stage setting for his appearances follows an easily recognized pattern. Technocracy magazines, in an obvious effort to invest him with superman qualities, refer to him in idolatrous terms and describe his "rapt" audiences. The organization's by-laws define the functions of numerous subordinate officers and groups in considerable detail but contain no reference to its supreme commander; apparently his powers are unlimited. When Scott was asked how, with no provision in the by-laws for his election, he became "the Chief," he replied, "I got here first." When his attention was called to the contradiction between Technocracy's professed anti-fascism and its sedulous imitation of fascist methods, he refused to comment.

Newspapermen who visited Scott at "continental headquarters" after the appearance of his advertisements found "The Chief" seated at his desk in a chrome-decorated office, flanked by a uniformed disciple and a stenographer. He talked volubly about Technocracy's "specially designed plane" that "will fly 12,500 miles with a bomb load of fifty tons at more than 300 miles an hour and at a 36,000 ceiling." He was also willing to discuss Technocracy's "specially designed tanks." But he was incommunicative on the subject of his organization.

The literature of Technocracy argues that "democratic methods are obsolete," and Scott refers to freedom, justice, and liberty as "empty baubles of the social epoch of yesterday." He is for abolition of the political state on the ground that our modern technological age requires the application of scientific methods to social management. He talks of merging North America, Central America, the West Indies, Bermuda, and Hawaii into the Technate State of North America, and of running it like a "continental telephone system." This Technate State, under which everyone is to receive $20,000 a year, "work about four hours a day, 165 days a year, beginning at the age of twenty-five and retiring at

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the age of forty-five," is to be managed by a self-perpetuating élite. Individual liberties are to be tolerated only to the extent that they are in harmony with the needs of technology.

Scott regards himself as a fierce realist. He boasts that Technocracy "has no moral philosophy" and is concerned only with the efficient operation of our industrial system. He would like to see all "alien cultural intrusions annihilated" because they conflict with technology. He feels bitterly toward South Americans for the same reason and regards the Good Neighbor policy as "utter stupidity." The only policy South Americans will respect, he says, is "that of force—force powerful enough to be utterly ruthless."

Technocracy's program, which is a fairly persuasive statement, appeals to the pragmatic, "cash value" mentality in such sentences as, "Technocrats are not filled with any love of humanity or influenced by any ethical idea, but are primarily concerned with function." It studiously avoids tampering with American thought patterns and fetishes. Members are instructed to avoid references to capitalism or the profit system; Technocracy literature refers only to the "price system."

Scott, it seems, has tried to work out an "American approach." He emphasizes that Technocracy is the "only social movement born in America and of America's problems and composed and officered by North Americans." Technocracy propaganda cleverly exploits the average American's love of display and ritual and his even more deeply ingrained respect for machines, gadgets, and engineers. Asiatics and Europeans are described as unsuited for life in the Technate State, and there is patent effort to foster a sense of American superiority.

"The Chief," who once demanded the deportation of Lord Halifax, was an isolationist until Pearl Harbor, and his organization was banned from Canada for its opposition to the war. He now wants "total conscription of men, machines, material, and money" to prosecute the war effectively so that "America can remain America." He would also like to be "Director General of Defense" although he is utterly unqualified for the job, having had only an undistinguished career as an engineer, an equally undistinguished one as a floor-wax manufacturer, and brief experience as a research man for the International Workers of the World. He was given the I. W. W. job at the suggestion of "Scientific" Murphy, a prominent Wobbly who was impressed by Scott's ability to talk about Veblen. Former intimates recall "the Chief" as a garrulous fellow expounding odd economic theories in obscure Greenwich Village bars, and Frederick Lewis Allen says that the frenzied interest in Technocracy in 1932 bewildered no one more than its leader. However, at Technocracy gatherings now Scott talks and acts like a man of destiny.

Technocracy has as yet regained only a fraction of the influence it exercised in the early thirties, but it has a more closely knit organization, more strictly disciplined members, and a larger treasury. It has automobile fleets in at least a half-dozen cities, motor-cycle corps, "disaster squads," and the élan that comes from uniforms and salutes. These do not make it an immediate menace, but its spectacular growth in 1932 would indicate that it could become one.

Our war-production drive is making the country increasingly conscious that it has the industrial capacity for a system of abundance; a post-war depression could easily cause millions of "technology-conscious" unemployed, cynical about democracy and the four freedoms, to consider Technocracy a solution. Perhaps Scott is preparing for that day when he tells people that they "cannot wear freedom, cannot eat justice, and cannot ride on liberty."

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Wall Street in Two Wars

DURING the first two and a half years of the present war industrial stock prices have pursued a course directly opposite to that which they followed from late 1914 to America's entry into the conflict on April 6, 1917. As the chart on the next page shows, a sharp upward spurt of the average in the fall of 1939 was followed by a leveling off and a period of comparative steadiness during the "phony war." The market reacted to the fall of France with a spectacular drop in values, but when it became clear that Britain was not going to be knocked out as well, there was a gradual and moderate recovery. Late in 1940 there began a new seepage in values which, broken by only a very mild rally in mid-1941, has continued to date.

In the first World War stock prices started from the bottom. Even before August, 1914, the market had been suffering from a prolonged slump. The day Britain declared war the Stock Exchange was closed in order to avert a panic. That step was necessary because London was then the financial center of the world and tremendously influential in the New York money and investment markets. The New York Stock Exchange remained closed until December, 1914, when it reopened with quotations well below the level ruling four months earlier. But precautions taken to prevent a further slump proved needless, and in a very short time prices began to sweep upward as Allied war orders came rolling in.

The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* in its "Retrospect" of 1915 wrote: "While the year 1915 will forever live in history by reason of the gigantic and terrible war in Europe, with its appalling loss of human life . . . it will in addition hold a distinctive place in American trade annals because of the part the war played in the course of business here and the sudden and wonderful transformation it brought about in the whole realm of industrial affairs in this country."

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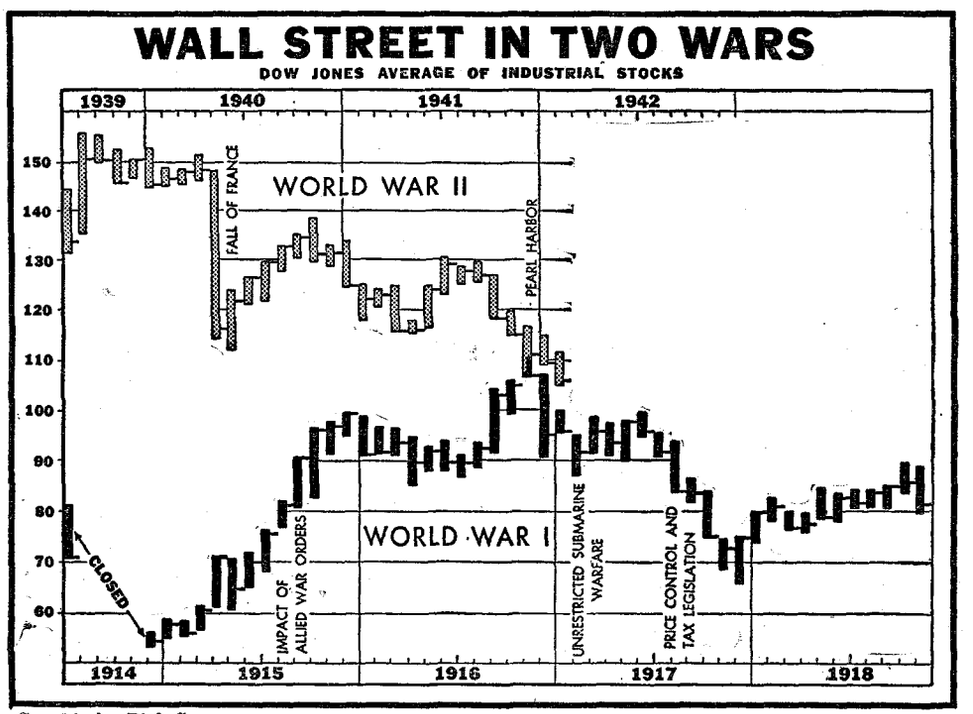
Sharp as the rise shown in the chart is, it hardly does justice to the spectacular performance of the favored "war brides" in 1915. Bethlehem Steel, for instance, was quoted at 42 when the market reopened; ten months later it touched 600. Throughout most of 1916 the market pursued a more stable course, with speculation curbed to some extent by peace rumors, but there was a new bound forward at the end of the year after German successes in Rumania suggested that the struggle would be prolonged.

The heights of 1916, however, were not touched again until after the war was over. American entry into the war engendered a more sober mood, and when the government made clear its intention to impose heavy excess-profits taxes and refused to pay the fancy prices which had been charged to the Allies for munitions, the inflated stock-market structure toppled. But the average did not fall back to its 1914 low; in fact, that point was never touched again until 1932.

The chart exhibits the contrasts in the behavior of stock prices in the two wars. There are, however, some similarities worth noting in addition to the common reaction to war taxes in both periods. The sharp rise in quotations in 1915-16 by no means fully reflected the rise in profits of the corporations benefiting from the armaments boom. In 1912 United States Steel was quoted at from ten to fourteen times common stock earnings of $5.71 a share. In 1916 its net income was above $48 a share, but the market valuation of the stock was only 1.7 to 2.7 times earnings. A similar tendency to put a low capital value on war earnings is common today. Corporation earnings and stock prices have been moving in opposite directions for the past two years; so that while a stockholder may feel cheerful when he totes up his income, his face falls a mile when he looks at his capital account.

Correction: A typographical error in Everybody's Business of March 21 made it appear that the National Association of Manufacturers had suggested a 9 per cent excess-profits tax. The figure, of course, should have been 90 per cent.



Graphic by Pick-S

In the Wind

THE FIRST ORGANIZATION frankly for peace short of victory to be formed since the war is Americans for Peace, which has its headquarters at 1165 Broadway, New York. It will back all isolationist candidates in the fall elections. Horace Haase, former America First leader in Brooklyn, is head of the organization, and Edward James Smythe, known for years as a Nazi camp follower, has become editor of its house organ, *Our Common Cause.*

DANTON WALKER, gossip columnist for the New York *Daily News,* has so often been right in predicting developments in the policy of the Roman Catholics that he is regarded by many political writers as the man who releases trial balloons for the church. His latest prediction is that if the Vatican receives an envoy from Japan, it will at the same time recognize the Stalin regime by accepting a Soviet representative.

FBI AGENTS recently investigated a prominent liberal who was being considered for a government position. To check on the man's patriotism they went to a former member of the national executive committee of the America First Committee.

ONE OF THE MOST POPULAR current song hits in Argentina is Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Sheean, which older Nation readers will remember as a favorite after the First World War.

AMONG THE INDORSERS of "Communism in Germany," one of the Nazis' earliest propaganda pieces, was Ellis Searles, editor of the *United Mine Workers' Journal.* The Union for Democratic Action rediscovered the book recently and has been calling public attention to the fact that Hamilton Fish, Merwin K. Hart, Searles, and some other Americans in public life gave it their blessing.

BOOKS ON RUSSIA will not be accepted by the Books for Victory Campaign in Pontiac, Michigan. . . . Rochester, New York, has banned the Rugg textbooks from the school system. It is the largest city to take that action.

[*The $5 prize for the best item received in March goes to Maurice Rosenblatt of 2 West Forty-third Street, New York, for his story about the release from prison of pro-Nazi Robert Jordan, published on March 7.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE GERMANS AND THE NAZIS

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE literature devoted to a study of the roots of the Nazi mania is becoming tremendous. In it a genuine scientific curiosity about the historical causes of the German tragedy is mixed in varying proportions with a desire to picture our enemies in the most unfavorable light. For some strange reason men seem to find satisfaction in regarding the present evil courses of the Germans as the consequence of congenital defects going back to the dim past. Hitler's theory of a master race offers a particularly tempting opportunity to invert the dogma and discover that the Germans are and have always been a race of sadists, monsters, and rebels against civilization. But though there are obviously very serious defects in German character, it is as foolish to think of the German nation as an example of total depravity as to consider Nazism the consequence of a conspiracy of a few "bad" men against an essentially "good" nation. The truth lies somewhere between these two extremes and is much more complex than either.

The books on the subject written in war time will probably not add much to our knowledge, for the passions of war color the judgment of even the most "objective" historian. Some of them, nevertheless, are interesting though fumbling efforts to account for the nihilistic mania of the Nazis. Emil Ludwig's theory of a conflict between a good German culture and a bad German civilization, or rather between Germany's good men of thought and its bad men of action (as expressed in his "The Germans: Double History of a Nation"[1]), can be dismissed rather easily because there can be no such division between thought and action. The thesis gains a measure of plausibility only because German culture has been as profound in measuring the ultimate problems of human existence as it has been perverse in dealing with the proximate problems of human society, particularly the problem of justice.

A favorite theory, supported by many Catholic authors, is that the Germans never came completely under the civilizing influence of the Roman world and have consequently always been half-barbarian, revolting against the "West" whenever the bastions of civilization became sufficiently weak to invite a revolt. This theory runs through Peter Viereck's "Metapolitiks,"[2] and a variation of it appears in Roussy de Sales's "The Making of Tomorrow."[3] The trouble with it is that it identifies civilization too uncritically with the Roman tradition. Furthermore, its concept of "barbarian" rests upon the most fatuous form of the idea of progress, according to which evil in history is a reversion to a more primitive form of life. Nazism is a destructive fury which has developed in a very mature civilization. It is no more barbaric than insanity is childlike.

Sometimes the explanations seek to make a distinction between bad Prussians and the other Germans. This distinction runs as a subordinate theme through Ludwig's book and is central in Friedrich Foerster's "Europe and the German Question."[4] Foerster's book is significant for various reasons. It is the only one of the many I have read which is written by a German, and the author's critical attitude toward his own nation represents a remarkable achievement in detachment, although sometimes it seems to betray elements of racial self-hatred. The book has in addition the merit of finding the roots of the evil in German history in the unbroken Prussian military tradition rather than in those philosophical tendencies where the more "profound" analysts seek it. Foerster regards Nazism as a natural extension of Prussianism, to which it adds nothing but a crude, popular, quasi-Moslem religious faith that transmutes the old acquiescence of the German common man in the cynicism of a military aristocracy into a positive participation in the brutalities of *Machtpolitik*.

His theory that the true genius of Germany was expressed in the internationalist ideas of the Holy Roman Empire, vestigial traces of which were present in the Austrian dynastic state, is more dubious. It might be argued that the extravagant nationalism of both Germany and Italy in our own period is due to their belated achievement of nationhood, their tardiness having been caused by the fact that Germany was the seat of the medieval empire and Italy the seat of the medieval papacy.

The most comprehensive analysis of the roots of Nazism has just been published—Rohan D'O. Butler's "The Roots of National Socialism."[5] The young English author devotes himself particularly to discovering the roots of Nazi tribalism and exaggerated nationalism in German romantic philosophy. Here, indeed, is a fruitful source of inquiry. No one can deny that the romantic emphasis upon the particular, as against the universal of reason, is historically related to the Nazi worship of the nation as the final source of all meaning in life, though Herder's idea of each nation cultivating its own genius and living peacefully with all other nations is about as different from Nazi imperialism as anything could be. In Fichte German pride becomes compounded with the sense of German uniqueness, perhaps as compensation for the sense of inferiority caused by the Napoleonic victories. (It must be mentioned incidentally that quite a number of authors refer to the German inferiority complex without explaining it plausibly. I do not doubt its existence,

1 Little, Brown and Company. $4.
2 Alfred A. Knopf. $3.
3 To be published April 17 by Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.
4 Sheed and Ward. $3.50.
5 E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

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and I believe that it has been particularly important in the relations between Germany and Britain. But it can hardly be given as one of the "causes" of Nazism until its own causes are explained.)

Butler understands very well that Nietzsche's particular type of romanticism, his emphasis upon the will-to-power, was not conceived nationalistically and that Nietzsche was critical of excessive national pride. But he rightly regards Nietzschean cynicism as one of the elements of Nazi politics, in which a cynical glorification of power is mixed with a sentimental glorification of the racial-national community. The best analysis of the conflict between the particularism of German romanticism and the universal standards of "the West," those conceptions of natural law which obtained in both Catholic and liberal Western Europe, was contributed by the great German philosopher Ernst Tröltzsch. In an essay written in 1922 (published in English as an appendix to Barker's translation of Gierke's "Natural Law") Tröltzsch came as close to predicting the Nazi revolt as any prophet. But he did not equate the simple universalism of the French Revolution with "civilization"; and he emphatically believed that there was an element of truth in romantic particularism which, if suppressed, would take vengeance upon the civilization which disregarded it. This comes closer to the truth than Butler's complacent words: "Looking backward over the course traversed, one sees at its head the Age of Enlightenment, the mellow light of reason of the eighteenth century. And one sees how men rose up in Germany to set themselves against that light and called in darkness." Before offering to die for French enlightenment arrayed against German romanticism, it would be well to inquire why, if the latter produced a cancerous growth in Germany, the former resulted in a kind of tubercular weakness in France.

One of the difficulties with all the books dealing with the German mania is that they induce complacency about our own sometimes comparable and sometimes contrasting vices. There is little sense in condemning the worship of force and vitality if we do not also condemn the senseless confidence in discarnate reason, emancipated from all the vitalities of history, by which we have confused the politics of "civilization." It does no good to condemn the aberrations of a false nationalism if we do not understand that a too simple universalism, which regarded national loyalty as a remnant of barbarism, opened the way for Hitler. It is perfectly true that Germans have always found it difficult to deal with the morally complex factors of politics without falling into the abyss of moral cynicism and nihilism. I do not understand just why this is so, for Nietzsche is after all the product, as well as a cause, of this cynicism. But I think the moral sentimentality of the Anglo-Saxon world in the political realm is equally mysterious; and it has been equally perilous to civilization.

Wherever we turn we find the picture of virulence contrasted with weakness. Sometimes the virulence arose out of the weakness; and always it proved itself more destructive when it was opposed by weakness and illusion. Thus the history of our tragic era is a commentary on the text: "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." If we do not understand this, we shall spend our energy hurling invectives at the Germans but shall be defeated nevertheless. For virtue is not so simply rewarded in history as Mr. Steinbeck, to judge by his latest book, supposes.

Mr. Butler and most of the other authors err not only in failing properly to contrast the German insanity with our own feeble-mindedness—if the metaphor may be allowed in order to keep the whole within the realm of psychopathology —but also very frequently in not allowing important voices in Germany, which do not agree with the ultimately victorious tendency, to be heard. Their picture of the consistency of German thought is thus an untrue one. Furthermore, they do not present the evidence of similar tendencies in other nations. National pride has undoubtedly achieved insane proportions among the Nazis, but it is a more universal sin than these indictments admit.

Sometimes the evils of German life are ascribed to tendencies in German thought which in other nations generated quite different consequences. Nazi moral nihilism, for instance, is again and again attributed to the emphasis placed upon historical norms by German philosophical and political thought. This leaves out of account the fact that British democratic development is rooted in this same respect for historical rather than rational norms. From Ireton to Burke and from Burke to the present, British democrats have sought to broaden liberty "from precedent to precedent" and have found the hereditary "rights of Englishmen" more potent instruments of justice than the abstract "rights of man."

Without claiming to penetrate to the mystery, which seems to be unsolved in the various treatises I have examined, I venture to suggest that one of the most potent causes of the German worship of the state, of German cynicism and moral nihilism, which finally culminated in Nazism was the failure of the German middle classes to break the power of the feudal military classes. Whatever may be the weaknesses of the bourgeois world in the present era of its decay, it cannot be denied that the middle classes played a creative role in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that the liberties which are now being extended beyond their interests were first established in conformity to their interests. But not in Germany. There no business man was ever admitted to the court of the Kaiser until 1914. There the power of the military aristocracy was so great that even the bourgeois-labor Weimar Republic was unable to break it. There the sublimated or unsublimated homosexuality of the officers' corps produced the ideology of a *Männerstaat;* and there the neuroses of the battlefields of the World War were transmuted into a psychopathic political power in which aristocrats and the lower middle classes finally found a common ground for political action.

This social history of Germany is more important than its cultural history. But if one asks why the German middle classes were so lacking in spirit and resolution, so unable to throw off the tutelage of the military class, one must move again from the level of social to the level of cultural history. May not Luther's particular approach to political problems, whatever his profundity in other fields, have fastened this fatal weakness upon the German people? His cynicism bordering on pessimism, his abhorrence of social anarchy and consequent uncritical acceptance of the authority of the state, his vehement denial of the right of rebellion against tyranny—all these contrast strangely with the resist-

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ance to tyranny by which democracy was established in other parts of the Western world, under religious inspiration in Britain, under anti-religious auspices in France, and under a combination of the two in America. Certainly the ineptness of the Germans in politics, whatever its causes, and their uncritical attitude toward the pretensions of government helped to make them the victims of tyranny even before they were harnessed to its most vexatious form and made other nations their victims.

It must be observed in closing that any analysis of the German tragedy, no matter how inconclusive, or perhaps because of its necessary inconclusiveness, persuades us that no simple theory of German depravity squares with the complex facts of history. It is important to remember this so that the hatreds of war, masquerading in the habiliments of historical science, will not lead us into a draconic peace, and so that we shall not seek futilely to build a new world by transforming Europe into a vast jail, full of scared jailers as well as resentful prisoners. More important still, we might lose the war if hatred of the Germans should blind us to the weaknesses of the "civilization" out of which, and in contrast to which, their mania rose, and against which it is still winning victories.

A Study of Robert Bridges

ROBERT BRIDGES: A STUDY OF TRADITIONALISM IN POETRY. By Albert Guérard, Jr. Harvard University Press. $3.50.

IT HAS long appeared to me," wrote Yvor Winters, "that Bridges and Hardy must be regarded as the two most impressive writers of poetry in something like two centuries, perhaps since Milton. . . ." Dr. Winters then proposes that on "mature consideration" Bridges will be recognized as greater than Hardy "as a result of greater intellectual scope and a wider diversity of artistic mastery." And by this remarkable process of elimination Robert Seymour Bridges becomes the greatest poet since Milton, not excepting William Blake, William Wordsworth, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Alexander Pope, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. I can only take it that Dr. Winters reserves to himself a private meaning of the word "impressive" and the phrase "writers of poetry." Possibly Dr. Winters finds himself impressed by nothing but propriety, as when he crowns his encomiums of Bridges with the Abercrombie and Fitch observation: "Bridges . . . is the heir of the universities." Possibly he wishes to distinguish between poets and "writers of poetry." I do not know. But I do know that when Robert Hillyer remarks, "I believe that 'The Testament of Beauty' is the 'De Rerum Natura' of our civilization," this represents a condemnation of our civilization and not a feather in Bridges's cap—no matter what Dr. Hillyer meant. For Robert Bridges is not the greatest poet since Milton, nor is "The Testament of Beauty" as good a poem as "De Rerum Natura"—for the following reason: poets and poems are better than verses and versifiers. The former poet laureate—and I quote Dr. Winters's disciple, Dr. Guérard—"compared with . . . the greatest of poets, was narrow, but his evaluation of experience was at every point sound, lucid, and complete." This final phrase constitutes the most penetrating and the most cruel judgment on Bridges, for it is, truly, a judgment that the critic should pass on a handbook for teacup reading rather than a major poet. I defy even Dr. Tillyard to prove that Milton was sound, lucid, and complete. William Shakespeare is unsound, turgid, and incomplete. I know of only one poet to whom these particular three epithets could be applied without immense overtones of irony, and that is not Robert Bridges but Dante Alighieri.

But I would not wish to give the impression that this study is so biased as to vitiate the majority of its evaluations and analyses: in particular Dr. Guérard deserves the applause of the literary for his Appendix on the Prosody of Bridges. This is an exhaustive and sensitive dissection of the poet's technique from which all the log-rolling and the ax-grinding of controversy naturally exclude themselves. The appendix and, indeed, the complete work might be susceptible to accusations of pedantry. (Does it really matter whether Bridges's imitations of classical prosody show no false quantities? Presumably it does, but I can think of no good reason why.) But I observe that an auxiliary characteristic of pedantry is scrupulousness; this appendix is brilliantly meticulous. Where most of the elisions of this scrupulousness occur, they are, unfortunately, the more noticeable: I refer to Dr. Guérard's citations from A. E. Housman—who, as it seems to me, truly possesses all the merits that the critic arrogates for Bridges—and Gerard Hopkins. Thus Dr. Guérard, in dealing with Housman's translation from Sappho, dismisses it as a kind of thing unworthy of the talents of Bridges; "facile and obvious" he remarks of these exquisite verses that begin, "The weeping Pleiades wester." As against this minor masterpiece Dr. Guérard adduces a lyric of Bridges's:

> The hill pines were sighing,
> O'ercast and chill was the day;

nor does it occur to him that sighing pines and o'ercast chill days have become a trifle shoddy as poetic apparatus. The weeping Pleiades, I feel fairly certain, will go on westering; but these pines are going to sigh only a little longer. For where Housman is simple Bridges is crude, and where Housman is moving Bridges is forced; the comparison of the two poems mentioned above elicits this incontestably, to me at least. For the universities to which Bridges was heir left him an inheritance that most poets are much better without—namely, an intellectual self-consciousness that paralyzes the poem even before it is written.

As for Dr. Guérard's lapses of scrupulousness concerning Hopkins, to what removes of aloofness can he have retired that permit him to commit such misdeameanors as, "The greatness of this [the sonnet No, I'll not, carrion-comfort] and other poems by Hopkins does not alter the fact that no other poet has been able to make a similar use of the medium. . . ." The obvious conclusion is that Dr. Guérard has omitted to read any poetry published since the year 1930. The number of poets who have employed sprung rhythm—which Hopkins never claimed to have "invented," as Dr. Guérard assumes, but only to have *restored*—might conceivably help him to see that all sorts of extraordinary things have been happening since the death of Bridges.

GEORGE BARKER

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Whitehead's Final Views

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD. Volume III of the Library of Living Philosophers. Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Northwestern University Press. $4.

WHEN one of the world's foremost logicians and philosophers proclaims that "logic, conceived as an adequate analysis of the advance of thought, is a fake," it is certainly startling news in the realm of mind. When he adds that logic "is a superb instrument, but it requires a background of common sense," it seems to suggest Professor Whitehead's late conversion to Dewey's conception of logic as the theory of inquiry. The suggestion turns out to be deceptive, but it is clear that whatever Whitehead's strictures against logic are worth they hold only against conceptions which deny that logic is an instrument or that it requires a background of common sense. Since many theories of logic insist upon the instrumental character of logic and therefore upon the presence of an existential matrix of inquiry, Whitehead's dictum appears to be much too broad. It is directed as much against his earlier view of the subject as against any other.

The sentences quoted are taken from Whitehead's two essays in the volume dedicated to him in the Library of Living Philosophers—Mathematics and the Good, and Immortality. These essays are in lieu of a commentary or reply to the eighteen expositors and critics whose papers constitute the bulk of the volume and were written in complete independence of them. The volume consequently fails to live up to the underlying idea of the series. But as a kind of *Festschrift* for Whitehead's eightieth anniversary it more than justifies itself by its contents and as a signal tribute to his influence.

No informed intelligence can read Whitehead without being impressed by the suggestiveness of his writing. His thought is so rich that it is possible to derive almost any variety of philosophic doctrine from it—as the essays in this volume show. If this seems to indicate confusion, the confusion is, so to speak, classical, for like most eminent figures in the history of philosophy Whitehead has followed the lead of his insights even when they have burst the bounds of systematic consistency. None the less, there are certain recurrent ambiguities in his underlying ideas which remain unclassified in this, his freshest writing.

Consider, for example, one of his key statements: "All entities or factors in the universe are essentially relevant to each other's existence." How is this to be understood? If it means that every particular entity in the world in some respect involves or depends upon some other entity, it may be granted. From it the important corollary can be drawn that no particular entity is intelligible except in relation to a pattern which refers to elements outside of the immediate foreground. But if the statement means that every particular entity is *necessarily* related to every other particular entity, it is a breath-taking but not altogether original pronouncement for which no evidence is adduced. Through this premise a kind of riotous organicism is introduced into Whitehead's system. Yet in fact it runs counter to every piece of

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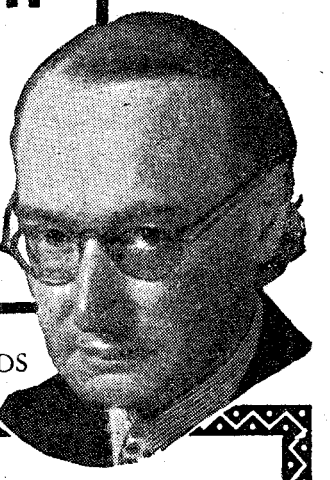

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reliable knowledge man has ever won. For knowledge as it is empirically acquired is based upon the assumption that not all things are essentially relevant to one another. And although reliable knowledge may be further corrected and improved, it is by virtue of the discovery of *specific* connections with some other particular entity or entities, not with every other entity. The behavior of the Dog Star does not depend upon the name I give my house dog; the tides in the Bay of Fundy had no relevance—not to speak of an essential relevance—to the Treaty of Versailles.

When Whitehead goes on to deny "the possibility of an adequate description of a finite fact," he reaffirms the second interpretation we have placed on his meaning, and at the same time exposes the questionable root of his entire position. Only if an "adequate" description were synonymous with a "complete" or "final" description, would his denial of the possibility of adequate description be justified. What controls the adequacy of a description is a problem and a purpose; and these arise not out of the omnipresent infinite background but out of a determinate part of it. When Whitehead tells us, "What I am objecting to is the absurd trust in the adequacy of our knowledge," no sensible person will disagree with him. But why must our trust be absurd? Particularly if we leave possession of the claim to complete knowledge to God and to those neo-Thomists who patrol philosophy in his name. Since the test of adequacy is to be found in consequences, our trust can be intelligent without being absolute.

Whitehead's denial of the possibility of adequate knowledge of finite fact does not follow from the recognition that an infinite, unanalyzed background is always presupposed by anything that is given or said. It is the result rather of an unconscious shift from a conception of knowledge which always presupposes a limited perspective or point of view to another conception which treats this limitation as if it were an inherent defect, as if "genuine" or "real" knowledge were knowledge which transcends limited perspectives. But all perspectives are limited. And although it is certainly true that not everything can be seen from one point of view, it is just as true that nothing whatever can be seen from no point of view. To challenge the possibility of adequate knowledge of finite fact is to call into question the only knowledge we know or need to know. The challenge is made not from the point of view of a better or more adequate knowledge but from an emotional yearning.

This raises a question about the way in which Whitehead conceives the continuity between nature and human experience. What can we learn about the world from the character of human experience? Many things, ranging from the bare fact that the world is such that it makes human experience possible, to the specific leads uncovering the multiple ways in which the human mind and body originate from, and react upon, natural activities. So far Whitehead is in line with evolutionary naturalism. But can we legitimately say that the world must be such as to *necessitate* human experience? Can we, with any plausibility, assert that the distinctive feeling or emotional intensity of human experience is *identical* with the energetic activity of physical things? Whitehead seems to answer both questions in the affirmative. His reasons are no more cogent than those of the romantic *Naturphilosophen* who developed similar notions, and his method is just as suspect.

Perhaps of greatest interest to the general reader is Whitehead's present conception of philosophy. The concluding sentences of his essay on Immortality are: "The final outlook of philosophic thought cannot be based upon the exact statements which form the basis of the special sciences. The exactness is a fake." I predict a great career for these words, especially among the detractors of scientific knowledge whom Whitehead would be the first to disown, but their meaning is dark and obscure. If Whitehead is trying to recall philosophy to its ancient pursuit of wisdom, then surely what he means is that philosophy cannot be based *only* on the exact statements of the special sciences. It must articulate on a reflective plane other modes of experience, and take note of sciences like biology whose basis does not consist of exact statements. But the words "the exactness is a fake" suggest that he is exposing something fraudulent and that the task of the philosopher is no longer the critique of abstractions but their systematic distrust. It cannot be that Whitehead is criticizing exactness in science. None knows better than he that the progress of science reveals that scientists do not mistake exactness for finality, that degrees of exactness are allowed for as we go from field to field, and that the exactness of a statement is important not because it claims to reflect exactness in things but because it helps to unify the knowledge we have and achieve greater fruitfulness in discovery. If Whitehead intended to rebuke the philosophers and not the scientists, it would have been wiser to recommend to them greater familiarity with science and closer analysis of its procedures rather than to hearten irrationalists with an utterance that borders on denunciation of scientific method. Whitehead's own great achievements date from the period when his philosophy was based on a critique of the exact statements or abstractions of the sciences, that is, on an understanding of the ways in which the high-order abstractions of physical science are related to the deliverances of everyday experience and in which they control and are controlled by this experience. As for his latter-day system of speculative philosophy, one may say of it what he has said of his predecessors: "The systematic thought of ancient writers is now nearly worthless, but their detached insights are priceless."

In the nature of the case the papers of the eighteen other contributors are so miscellaneous as to defy unified treatment. To this reviewer Arthur Murphy's essay on Whitehead and the Method of Speculative Philosophy stands out as a brilliant analysis of the futility of the quest for an "ultimate" reality to support or justify the ordinary realities of experience. Positively bizarre is Needham's account of Whitehead which pictures him as being as nearly a dialectical materialist as any non-Leninist philosopher can be. Lowe's long chapter on Whitehead's philosophical development contains useful references to Whitehead's early and out-of-the-way publications. Dewey's very sympathetic study, which is based primarily on Whitehead's "Adventure of Ideas," finds the "substance" of Whitehead's ideas to be a stimulating variety of naturalistic ethical idealism but with "its formal statements" leaning toward spiritualistic idealism. Hartshorne believes that Whitehead has offered "the most technically

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adequate version of a conception of God" that has been developed since the fifteenth century. Sellars argues the merits of his own philosophy over that of Whitehead. Holmes on Whitehead's educational views begins with that fateful quotation, "Exactness is a fake," and admirably avoids precision of statement from start to finish. Quine and Northrop discuss respectively Whitehead's logic and his philosophy of science. McGilvary asks very searching questions about the philosophy of space-time. Hughes finds Whitehead's psychology to be promising but inadequate. Other essays are by Urban, Richie, Hocking, B. Morris, Goheen, Bixler, and Schilpp. Brief but charming autobiographical notes by Whitehead open the volume, and an extensive bibliography of his writings completes it.

SIDNEY HOOK

Richmond Architecture

HOUSES OF OLD RICHMOND. By Mary Wingfield Scott. Richmond: The Valentine Museum. $5.

THE houses of Richmond, Virginia, have more general interest than those of most American cities because of the illustrious persons that have lived in them—John Marshall, Edmond Randolph, Matthew Fontaine Maury, Edgar Allan Poe, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Ellen Glasgow. Yet for all the romantic haze that these figures have thrown around it, Richmond has from the beginning been an industrial town and, by Eastern seaboard standards, it is young. It was a village of small tobacco traders when the legislature was moved up from Williamsburg in 1779, and only one small dwelling from that day still stands. From then until it became the capital of the Confederacy its industrial growth was typical of America. Miss Scott's carefully documented, richly illustrated volume portrays the architectural development that was an integral part of this growth.

By the turn of the century Richmond could boast of thriving corn and wheat mills, and of manufacturing soap, coaches, and candles as well as tobacco. The houses of that time varied from the stolid, massive structure later acquired by Poe's foster father to the compact cottage which was built by a free Negro in 1793 and remained in his family until 1905. During the depression which followed the War of 1812 new houses were few and small. The business boom of the 1830's and '40's, which was manifest in iron foundries, rolling mills, cotton and paper factories, canals and railroads, produced a great expansion of building. In the homes of that period—the great houses the industrialists planned for themselves as well as the more modest dwellings they erected as investments—the graceful classic lines of the "Greek revival" predominated. By the middle '50's, when well-to-do Richmonders began to move to the suburbs, the vulgarity which had already left its mark on most phases of American life caught up with its architecture; the new homes were "exuberant," and most of them were hideous. It is there that Miss Scott ends her story.

The more than 300 photographs in this book, of houses that have been demolished as well as those that remain, should prove invaluable to architects and antique fanciers: the chatty tales about the individual houses should delight

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Virginians. But the broad interest of the work which Miss Scott began in 1928 derives from the truly scholarly manner in which she has been able to make graphic the early period of America's industrial expansion—an important period too often obscured by the dramatic wars that marked its beginning and end.

GRACE ADAMS

Recent European Historians

SOME HISTORIANS OF MODERN EUROPE. Edited by Bernadotte E. Schmitt. The University of Chicago Press. $5.

A LIVE historian is not quite so big a joke as a live poet, and after death he does not rise so high in glory as the poet: both here and hereafter he attains a certain stature worth estimating. Indeed the historian's industry alone is awe-compelling, and when one reads in sequence about the lives and works of twenty-two such distinguished men—some of them still living though already classics—their unspoken claim to respectful interest is granted without question. This general impression remains even after one has established a scale of merit and applied it to the score of historians whom Professor Schmitt's seminar chose as subjects for these lively and well-informed essays. They are without exception European historians as well as historians of modern Europe, and their generation covers the last hundred years. They are, in short, recent but not contemporary, or else "contemporary" in the French sense of that word.

What is most striking about them is how few are known to the general reading public—exclusive of the guild of professional historians. If in 1900, when most of these men were thirty to fifty years old, one had collected essays about Macaulay, Froude, Prescott, Freeman, Mommsen, Michelet, and a dozen others whom it would not be hard to list, the book would have been read by every educated man. The present volume, I am afraid, will only reach those to whom Mathiez, Kluchevsky, Temperley, and Delbrück are already familiar names. This says something regrettable about the history of history. It is also a good reason for complaining of the fact that a university press sets the prohibitive price of $5 on a book which should be on the desk of every student of history and politics, and not merely on the shelves of the library to which he has access.

A second impression arising from the book concerns the technique of historiography and our usual presuppositions about it. The reader cannot help noticing how frequently the German historians, to whom we commonly ascribe "scientific" impartiality, turn their massive works to the uses of politics and social programs, with very little sense of nuance in the application. The French do the same thing, but we have come to expect it and always ask if a given historian belongs to the right or the left. We also expect from the French something like style or elegance of form; yet of the seven Frenchmen here included there is not one who did not write in the uniform idiom so painfully taught by the French lycée for the benefit of civil servants. With Hanotaux, indeed, the ideas and words are both so commonplace that he might well have been omitted from a group that numbers Croce, J. Holland Rose, Altamira, and Ruffini.

As for the essayists who have contributed to this collection, their skill and zest are uniformly high. I think that Mr. Burks is unfair to Croce, at least in the early part of his essay, and I think he is unwittingly misleading about what he calls romanticism and neo-romanticism. But his propositions are tenable, and he is throughout interesting. Mr. Parry, Mr. Halperin, Mrs. Godfrey have written small masterpieces of research, condensation, clarity, and charm. And this arbitrary naming does an unintended injustice to most of the others, whom Professors Schmitt and Thompson may be proud to own as former students.

I would, however, criticize them in bulk for constantly using two terms that are especially misplaced in a work of biography and literary criticism. One is the word "methodology," which is used with desperate insistence as if it were a synonym for "method." The effect on the conscious reader is something like that of using "bacteriology" for "bacteria": "the patient succumbed to a fresh onslaught of bacteriology" (query: a medical student?). The other objectionable phrase is "analyze critically a document." This pious formula means little or nothing except when applied to medieval texts or more generally to the subject matter of diplomatics. Not only the misplaced and redundant adverb but the whole needless glorification of the historian's elementary caution smacks of a pretense at "scientific" procedure which, at this late date, should not be implied even by a casual phrase.

JACQUES BARZUN

Novel or Forum?

ONLY ONE STORM. By Granville Hicks. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

MR. HICKS'S last novel, "The First to Awaken," took us on a tour of the hypothetical future and was therefore necessarily cast in the form of question and answer involving extensive discussion of social organization and economic change. "Only One Storm," unfortunately, follows much the same pattern, but this time under the guise of a realistic story of a small New England town, an up-to-date "Main Street." Actually, it is less a novel than a kind of mental clearing-house for Mr. Hicks's own thoughts, and he makes constant use of his characters—who are so numerous that they have to be listed formally in the front of the book—to dwell upon and explain his own fears and doubts about American society and the state of the world. The problems posed by communism and the Communist Party figure largely of course, the central character being a man who wavers this way and that in his political thinking, almost joins the party, but finally decides to follow the American way and serve democratically as a selectman in the little town of Pendleton in the Berkshires.

When Mr. Hicks frankly editorializes, and refrains from making his characters do so, he is often moving and thoughtful; and he shows, as he did in "I Like America," a sturdy optimism about the world to come. But prospective readers of "Only One Storm" should still be warned that when they buy it as a novel they are really buying a protracted town meeting in disguise.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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IN BRIEF

IN THE NIGHT DID I SING. By O'Kane Foster. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

There is a "Tortilla Flat" quality about this folk novel of Taos Valley, New Mexico. Like a brilliant Mexican blanket, it gathers together the garish colors of the mountains and the desert and the little town of Sangre de Cristo, the bloody rites of the Penitentes, the unconquerable laziness of the native men, and the glittering hardness of the American road-builders. Its plot is a conglomeration of the lives of the men and women who make up the community. Though Mr. Foster's announced plan for a tetralogy of folk-novels about life in the Taos Valley seems a little over-ambitious for the material, this first book has an abundance of robust charm and pungent flavor.

A MARITIME HISTORY OF NEW YORK. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Project of the WPA for the City of New York. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

Only one thing is lacking from this orderly and otherwise comprehensive history, and that, rather surprisingly, is an adequate account of waterfront and maritime labor organizations and their problems. The temptations to digression —and the history of a great port offers many—have been resisted, and the result is a singularly purposeful and consecutive work, concentrated and lucid. The thoroughness of the research, as well as its engrossing subject, makes this the best volume to appear so far in the series being issued by the publishers.

DEEP SOUTH. By Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner. The University of Chicago Press. $4.50.

This book does for a typical community in the cotton country something similar to what "Middletown" did for a community in the Middle West. The authors lived for two years in Old City. Although it is not identified except as being typical of the cotton South, Old City seems certainly to be in Mississippi, and probably is along the Yazoo. Occasionally the authors labor the obvious, but for the most part they have written a penetrating study of the clash of race and class in the cotton country, and every student of the South can consult it with great profit.

MY UNCLE DUDLEY. By Wright Morris. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

A brashly picaresque novel about a trip across the country with nine men in an old derelict of an automobile. Fast-paced, delightfully humorous, sometimes Rabelaisian, it zestfully follows the adventures and mishaps of as madly assorted a crew of individuals as you might find in a circus sideshow—down-at-the-heel, underprivileged men who do not even realize that they are underprivileged. The author's acute ear for dialogue helps to enliven a story that has a slightly mad quality to start with.

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

The Bases of Artistic Creation. Essays by Maxwell Anderson, Rhys Carpenter, and Roy Harris. Rutgers. $1.25.

Trans-Pacific Relations of Latin America. By Anita Bradley. Institute of Pacific Relations. $1.

Stretching Your Dollar in Wartime. By Ruth Brindze. Vanguard. $1.75.

Mystery Ship: The Mary Celeste in Fancy and in Fact. By George S. Bryan. Lippincott. $3.

Man and Wife and Other Plays. By Augustin Daly. Princeton. $3.

North America: Wheel of the Future. By Hawthorne Daniel. Scribner's. $2.75.

Latin America and the War. By Vera Micheles Dean. Oxford. 25 cents.

Relentless War: The Key to Victory. By Edward Mead Earle. Columbia. 25 cents.

Frederick the Great. By Pierre Gaxotte. Yale. $3.75.

The Dynamics of Indusrial Democracy. By Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg. Harper. $3.

This Inevitable Conflict. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. Columbia. 25 cents.

Latin America. By Preston E. James. Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard. $6.

Navajo Creation Myth: The Story of the Emergence. By Hasteen Klah. Recorded by Mary C. Wheelwright. Navajo Religion Series, Vol. I. Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art. Santa Fe. $10.

The Day of the Saxon. By Homer Lea. Harper. $2.50.

Lunacy Becomes Us. By Adolf Hitler and His Associates. Edited by Clara Leiser. World Publishing Company. 50 cents. Reprint.

Madame Chairman, Members and Guests. By Helen Hayes Peffer. Macmillan. $1.75.

Federalism as a Democratic Process. Essays by Roscoe Pound, Charles H. McIlwain, and Roy F. Nichols. Rutgers. $1.25.

Wide Margins: A Publisher's Autobiography. By George Palmer Putnam. Harcourt, Brace. $3.

Billy King's Tombstone: The Private Life of an Arizona Boom Town. By C. L. Sonnichsen. Caxton. $3.

The Road I Know. By Stewart Edward White. Dutton. $2.50.

The Passionate Warrior: Simon Bolivar. By T. R. Ybarra. New edition. Ives Washburn. $3.

DRAMA

"The Furies" at Fordham

ONE of the most curious and fascinating events of this season was the production of "The Eumenides" of Aeschylus by Fordham College. Amateur theatricals have a rare way of offering sudden and unexpected delights. Naturally, local conditions must be assumed—uneven acting, inconsistencies of style, and a lack of polish. Also, lately, many of the heavily endowed schools of the drama try to make their shows as much like Broadway as possible—"artistic," to be sure, but the standard is no longer the ideas of Gordon Craig or Stanislavsky, as it once was, but rather the surface finish of Gilbert Miller or, at best, Guthrie McClintic.

The Fordham "Furies" had a number of distinctions. First of all, for an amateur performance, it had exceptional polish, and a lack of self-consciousness in the acting—not the conception—which was healthy and moving. Harvard, Yale, or Princeton undergraduate actors often imagine themselves already typed by the Guild for a Lunt-Fontanne production. The Fordham boys have probably little interest in further professional careers. Their acting evolved from an understanding of the text as propounded by their director. They have fine voices; their utterance was admirable. It is rare to hear unaffected choral speech, the normal voice projected evenly and disciplined to the correct metrical beat of the choral odes. Few persons in the audience may have understood the original Greek in which the play was spoken. But the words themselves were so sonorous and they were spoken with such complete authority that one had never a doubt that at least the actors were at home in the language. The ancient Greek suddenly became a live language.

"The Eumenides" is the third of the Orestian trilogy, resolving the guilt which started with the murder of Agamemnon on his return from Troy. In this play Orestes, the murderess's son

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and her murderer, is pursued by Furies. Protected by Apollo from the implacable demands of his guilt, he is finally released after the first jury trial in the Western world. Its deadlock is broken by Athena. The outraged Furies, robbed of their rightful prey, are placated by reason.

Those of us who have not enjoyed a thorough classical education continue to be amazed by the power and freshness of the tragedies. Last year Fordham presented the "Oedipus" as an unforgettable mystery. Fordham is a Catholic college. The Greek plays given there are sermons. In "The Eumenides" we find Orestes as Adam-Jesus, the Leader of the Furies is the Fiend of the Pit, and Pallas, who was herself virgin-born, assumes her logical role as the Mother of God. In the program note we read, "We of this play would have liked to think that Aeschylus would have recognized *our* pain and would have seen how much greater than his own answer is the pity of Christ and the inevitability of the Good Shepherd."

It is pointless to quarrel with the concept of the play as given by Fordham. Every text calls for an interpretation, and this Jesuit reading is certainly neither jesuitical nor illogical. It has a consistency of purpose and a deliberate line, an inevitability and fatality that are surely rare in the presentation of classic drama. Too often a well-known Broadway actress avows a sudden interest in the classics, and what apparently is love for the finer things of the theater turns out to be a naive interest in a prestige vehicle for herself. This was not true at Fordham. The acting and particularly the speaking were exceptionally fine. Richard Burgi, the Leader of the Furies, has an extraordinary theatrical gift, a release on stage, a wild, sweet, terrifying hysteria, that recalls the very best early performances of Orson Welles. He is the type of actor's actor. No small naturalistic effects for him. He moves like a trained dancer, without affectation, with no trace of narcissism, and was transparently identified with the evil he personified, at least for the duration of the performance. His errors arose from lack of experience. The range of such violent and extensive emotion was too much for so young an actor to sustain without some monotony.

William F. Lynch, S.J., deserves the great credit for these productions at Fordham, for his insistence on speaking the Greek and in general for his remarkable philosophical logic in planning the plays. John Colman's music for the choral odes was most impressive. Feder did a lighting job recalling his palmiest days at the Mercury Theater, and the stage as a whole worked well. The college performs a real service in permitting the classics to be heard as well as seen.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

RECORDS

THOSE February orchestral recordings of Victor still have not arrived, but I have received a few March items, including the featured set (875, $5.50) of Brahms's First Symphony played by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony. It is a performance of characteristic tonal beauty and plastic perfection, which for my taste has the merit of giving a just statement of the meaningless sound and fury in imitation of Beethoven in the first movement, the saccharine sentimentality in the second movement—as against the usual exaggeration in performance of what is excessive in the music to start with. Taken by itself the recorded sound is impressively brilliant and expansive (with a few rattles or buzzes); compared with the sound of Toscanini's 1936 Wagner recordings it has the fault I mentioned when I discussed his new "Götterdämmerung" set: with the brightness and liveness and brilliance of the new recordings on top there is a lack of the depth, the body, the warmth that is to be heard down below in the 1936 recordings (and that is also to be heard in the recent Monteux recordings). Several sides of my review copy have noisy, crackling surfaces, and the fifth side wavers in pitch.

Victor issues the first recording of a major work by Loeffler—the Pagan Poem, played by Hanson with the Eastman-Rochester Symphony (Set 876, $3.50). It may be as much as fifteen years since I last heard the piece, which used to be played in the twenties; and I find that it no longer has the emotional impact for me which it had then. I suspect that this has something to do with the lack of continuity and coherence which I hear in the progression of the material despite the Franckian thematic manipulation and transformation that sounds mechanical and arbitrary at times (the three-note motive *misterioso* at the beginning, which is heard *allegro* later on, etc.). But I enjoy the effective writing, the loveliness of individual bits of the material. The performance seems good; but much of what is so fastidiously and subtly contrived in the work is lost in the noisy confusion from the surfaces of my copy when it is played on a wide-range machine with an Audax or Brush pickup. With the heavier, less sensitive Astatic pickup the surfaces are quieter and the sound cleaner.

Chausson's Concerto for violin, piano, and string quartet (Set 877, $4.50) also has its Franckian three-note motive and Franckian manipulation and transformation and other Franckian characteristics; and it is again a work in which I find only occasional passages mildly enjoyable. The performance by Heifetz, Sanromá, and the Musical Art Quartet is excellent, except for traces of the Heifetz wail; and it is excellently recorded.

Felton's Organ Concerto No. 3 is a pleasantly inconsequential piece in the style of Handel which—for reasons that apparently escape me—is played, simply and adequately, by Biggs with Fiedler's Sinfonietta, and recorded, as adequately, by Victor (Set 866, $2).

Stokowski has returned to Victor, recording now with the N. B. C. Symphony; and at the quiet beginning of his record (18497, $1) of the unfamiliar and lovely music of the Prince and the Princess from Prokofiev's "Love for Three Oranges" one hears the authentic sound of the Stokowskian sonorities that Columbia has been unable to put on records. But with increasing intensity more and more grit gets mixed in with the rich sound—on large and small machines, with light and heavy pickups; and the loud sound of the Infernal Scene and the familiar March is hard and brash. But even harder, thinner, colder, and less recognizable is Columbia's reproduction of Stokowski's performance with the All American Orchestra of two diverting pieces by Americans: Morton Gould's "Guaracho" and Paul Creston's Scherzo (11713-D, $1.05).

On another Columbia single disc (17300-D, $.79) are Brahms's charming "Ständchen" and all too popular "Wiegenlied," well sung by Lehmann, and well recorded (there is an unusual amount of blank surface on each 10-inch side). And on still another single (17298-D, $.79) are "Voi che sapete" and "Non so piu cosa son" from Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro" sung by Risë Stevens: the voice is beautiful and well reproduced, the phrasing is musical, but there is a tremulousness in the singing that would be less noticeable in the opera house than it is at the close range of the microphone.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

All Credit to the FSA

Dear Sirs: Beginning in 1935, government help was extended to the most underprivileged farm families in the country—the small farm-owners, farm tenants, and share-croppers of the Dust Bowl, of the South, and of the played-out farm areas throughout the country. This help was not administered by the regular Agricultural and Home Extension workers in the Department of Agriculture but by a new set-up that came to be known as the Farm Security Administration. Eventually the FSA was made a part of the Department of Agriculture, but the "feeling" between the two services did not improve noticeably. The FSA not only received larger appropriations—and better salaries—than the regular "Extension" workers, but lured some of the best workers away from "Extension," did a more outstanding job, and—most unforgivable of all—received most of the popular credit for bettering the lot of the farmer.

And well it should get credit! By loans, by grants, by technical farming advice, by education in better home management, by encouragement of home food production and preservation, by help in organizing cooperative activities and community services, by the promotion of sanitation and health, by the provision of needed arrangements for medical care, by the adjustment of debts, and in a host of other ways, the FSA has "rehabilitated"—taken off the relief rolls and helped to independence and health and self-respect—an increasing number of underprivileged, depressed, low-vitality, low-income farm families, white and black, North and South, East and West. It has helped share-croppers to become tenants and tenants to become farm-owners. It has helped them to better farming methods, better living, better citizenship, and, last but not least, greater production.

But the Farm Security Administration has by no means as yet reached all who need its services—or completed its work for those whom it has reached. Just now the services, the loans, the advice, and the material help are needed more than ever. "Food," says the Secretary of Agriculture, "will win the war and write the peace." Our country needs maximum production now from all farmers, from those who are at the bottom of the economic ladder as well as from those who are near the top.

At a time when this enhanced public health, economic well-being, and good citizenship, and this increased production are needed so urgently, the so-called farm bloc in Congress—most of whose members did not hesitate to vote themselves "pensions for Congressmen"—is whittling away at this year's appropriations for the Farm Security Administration in a way well calculated to kill its usefulness.

Apparently the leader in this reactionary movement is Edward A. O'Neal, president of the Farm Bureau Federation, the organization set up by Agricultural and Home Extension workers some twenty years ago primarily for relatively well-to-do white owners of moderate or good-sized farms. Mr. O'Neal is a native of Alabama, where Negroes constitute a large proportion of the underprivileged farm families aided by the FSA. He has been a leading figure in the promotion of government services looking to the improvement of the lot of "big" white farmers throughout the country. He has not been so outstanding in advocacy of reforms in behalf of "small" Negro farmers. Can it be that Mr. O'Neal is willing to let the country's need of increased production go unmet rather than see the Negro farm-holders and tenant farmers and share-croppers of his poll-tax state helped out of their penury and subservience?

HARVEY LEBRUN

Chapel Hill, N. C., March 27

Dr. Menninger on Dr. Fromm

Dear Sirs: In my opinion Dr. Karl Menninger's review of Erich Fromm's "Escape from Freedom" in your issue of March 14 is in a number of ways distinctly unfair and unscientific. It is of utmost importance to me as a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst that discussions of psychological, psychoanalytic, and sociological problems be carried on, as far as possible, in a rational, intelligent, and scientific manner. That Dr. Menninger did not achieve this is not surprising in view of his broad hint, at the end of his first paragraph, that he could not be completely objective and that he could only give his "impressions" of the book. The reviewer is to be congratulated for his frankness in stating this. However, he is not to be congratulated for his various insinuations directed against refugees in general and Dr. Fromm in particular.

What I find most unfortunate in Dr. Menninger's article is the tendency to attack the author with psychoanalytic interpretation rather than to criticize and attack the contents of the book. Dr. Menninger's simple and quick method of demolishing the concepts of the author is that of implying that they are symptoms of Dr. Fromm and that they therefore are not to be taken seriously. The danger of this procedure may be indicated by quoting from Freud:

> Analysis is not suited, however, to be used in controversy; it presupposes the consent of the analyzed. . . . Anyone who presses analysis into the service of polemics must therefore expect the person analyzed to use the weapon upon him in turn, so that the discussion will reach a state which entirely excludes the possibility of convincing any impartial third person.

I trust that Dr. Menninger, the eminent author of "Man Against Himself," will agree that it would be unscientific and unseemly for a critic to attack his book by interpreting its title or contents as subjective symptoms of the author. Such a procedure is equally deplorable whether directed against refugees or against native Americans.

GEORGE S. GOLDMAN

New York, March 16

Dear Sirs: I have reread my review and I cannot see that I have made any unfriendly insinuations against refugees. I said, in substance, that they were in a difficult position and, naturally, felt lonely. I connected this with the fact that one of them had written a book on loneliness. My position in regard to refugees and my efforts in their behalf, both within and without the medical profession, are, I think, sufficiently well known. Several refugees to whom I showed my review before sending it to *The Nation* not only agreed with the contents but felt that the problem of the intellectual refugee in America urgently requires more intelligent consideration than it has received. The sympathy with which the refugees have been greeted and the gratitude they have shown cannot disguise the resistance on both sides to the impact of unfamiliar customs and beliefs.

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Dr. Goldman is entirely correct in saying that it is unfair and unscientific to interpret unconscious motives in a person not one's patient and, therefore, not subject to psychoanalytic technique. But I did not assume that Dr. Fromm's loneliness was unconscious, and it is certainly not exceptional for a reader to interpret the bias of a book in terms of the author's well-known experiences. An author learns a part of what he knows about other people from observing himself; if he is successful in generalizing and objectifying his theme, he has written a good book. In my opinion Dr. Fromm was only partially successful in doing this.

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Dr. Goldman refers to loneliness as a "symptom" of Dr. Fromm's; this implication is his, not mine. Loneliness may be a symptom, or, on the other hand, it may be a normal reaction to a situation, as Dr. Fromm points out.

KARL MENNINGER

Topeka, Kan., March 25

Cold Mornings Have Been in Bensonhurst

Dear Sirs: Benjamin P. Safran of New York City writes me that he has just read *The Nation's* seventy-fifth anniversary number (dated February 10, 1940) and is shocked to discover that in that issue I attributed the authorship of a parody of *The Nation's* first prize poem, Hot Afternoons Have Been in Montana, to Robert Benchley. This deathless parody, entitled Cold Mornings Have Been in Bensonhurst, he tells me, first appeared in F. P. A.'s Conning Tower on February 12, 1925, over the signature of Benjamin Pinney, a name which, for some reason, Mr. Safran used instead of his own.

It is, as Mr. Safran says, a bit late, but he feels that Bob Benchley doesn't need the advertising, and he does. And isn't it nice to know that back numbers of *The Nation* are read and studied with such care?

LEWIS GANNETT

New York, March 25

Miss Boyden's Birds

Dear Sirs: In her review of my satire "The Pink Egg," Katherine Anne Porter writes: ". . . there is a hint that once the birds find their way to the island, they will put out the light." There is no such "hint" anywhere in the book. May I respectfully refer Miss Porter to the passage at the foot of page 171?

POLLY BOYDEN

Truro, Mass., March 24

It's Not the Poll Tax

Dear Sirs: I disagree most emphatically with your views on the poll tax, as expressed in your issue of March 21.

To say that the poll tax is disfranchising the voters is preposterous. I have lived in the South and worked at many tasks which brought me in contact with the workers. If a citizen cannot save up 150 pennies a year to help pay the cost of holding elections in a democracy, then he is not worthy of the privilege of voting. Let him take a few drinks of whiskey less, let him smoke a few packages of cigarettes less, let him spend a few dollars less in shooting craps.

It is not the poll tax which you should attack. It is the ignorance in which these people are steeped, the laziness with which they are afflicted when it comes to public affairs, and the lack of leadership to bring them out of their miserable state.

J. ANTHONY MARCUS

New York, March 26

CONTRIBUTORS

RALPH BATES, distinguished novelist, served in the Spanish Republican army and has written extensively on political subjects.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, Foreign Minister of the Spanish republic during the civil war and at present an editor of *Free World,* is also a contributing editor of *The Nation.*

ROBERT S. LYND, professor of sociology at Columbia University, is the author of "Middletown: A study in Contemporary American Culture."

WILL CHASAN has written frequently for *The Nation* on labor developments.

VICTOR RIESEL is labor reporter on the New York *Post.*

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, is the author of "The Nature and Destiny of Man" and a contributing editor of *The Nation.*

GEORGE BARKER is an English poet who has just published a volume of his "Selected Poems."

SIDNEY HOOK, chairman of the Department of Philosophy of Washington Square College of New York University, is the author of "Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy."

GRACE ADAMS is the author of a sociological study entitled "Workers on Relief."

JACQUES BARZUN, assistant professor of history at Columbia University, is the author of "Darwin, Marx, Wagner."

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN is the director of the Ballet Caravan and author of "Blast at Ballet."

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